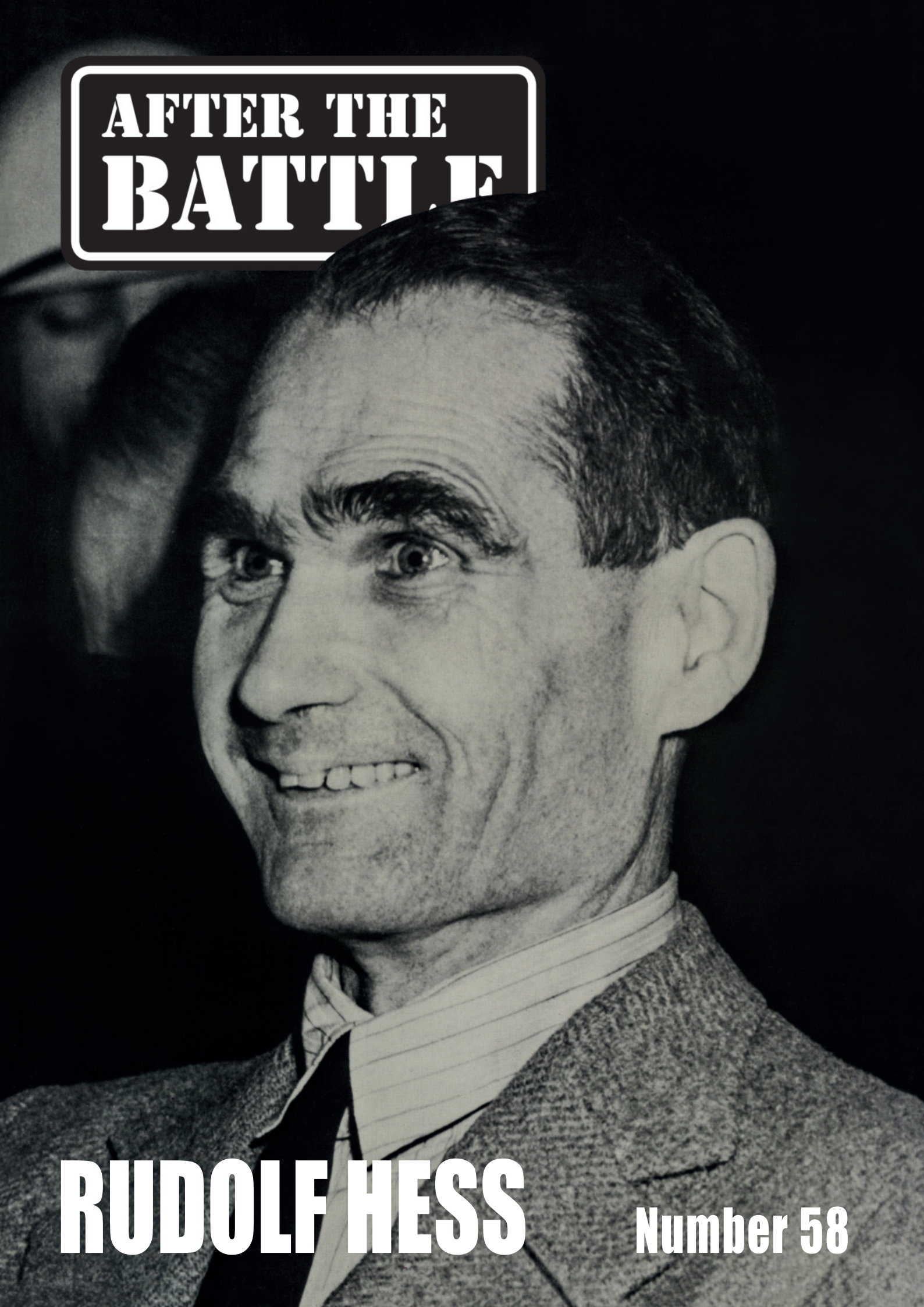
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BATTLE
RUDOLF HESS
Number 58

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Front Cover: After 40 years in Spandau Prison, Prisoner No. 7 is dead. Rudolf Hess photographed at the time of his trial in 1945.

Centre Pages: Panzer Graveyard in France is no more — see page 46.

Back Cover: A prison for five days for Rudolf Hess in May 1941: Buchanan Castle, derelict for over 30 years, slowly succumbs to the invasions of nature.

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Rudolf Walter Richard Hess was born in Alexandria, Egypt, on April 26, 1894. That same month but five years before in Braunau am Inn, Austria, Klara Pölzl had given birth to her son Adolf — but by the time Rudolf was born the Hitler family had moved to Linz. Twenty-five years later the two were to meet, Hess becoming the 16th member of Hitler's new National Socialist German Workers' Party on July 1, 1920.

RUDOLF HESS

BY DENIS C. BATEMAN

Hess is dead. After more than four decades the confinement of one man was ended by the application of a piece of wire flex around a scrawny neck. Death, the ultimate arbiter, has released the last of the major Nazi leaders, and after more than forty years the charade of the monthly guard change, with all its attendant costs, has ceased. This may be looked upon as the final act in the drama that was World War II: the last act of co-operation (reluctant upon the part of the Western Powers) between old wartime Allies — the USSR, Great Britain, the USA and France. Now the prison doors have finally slammed shut, demolition work has taken place and Spandau Prison, like its last prisoner, has ceased to exist.

In April 1925 Hess became Hitler's private secretary at a monthly salary of 500RM and on April 21, 1933 he was appointed Deputy Führer, in which position he was to lead the state party as Hitler's representative. Here he is pictured with his wife Ilse greeting guests to an NSDAP reception held in the Führerhaus in Munich on February 26, 1939.

For a little over four decades the man who was once Hitler's deputy and No. 3 in the Nazi hierarchy remained within the walls of a fortress prison leaving only occasionally to enter hospital. A man surrounded by controversy and mystery. A man whose name still arouses anger in some and pity in many. A man whose very existence in today's world was questioned.

The complex story of Rudolf Hess is a mystery laying many false trails for the unwary. Even the year of Hess's birth is disputed. There is argument over his sisters: did he have one or two? Was he a strong, shrewd character or one of limited intelligence bordering on stupidity? Was he sane or deranged? Or was he really motivated by a desire for Germany to make peace with Great Britain?

Indeed, was he alive, or dead as alleged by Hugh Thomas, who in *The Murder of Rudolf Hess* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1979) maintained that Prisoner No. 7 in Spandau Prison was a 'substitute' Hess and that the 'real' Hess was murdered before he left the German mainland in 1941.

Overseas, the year 1941 started well for the British Empire. Bardia, Tobruk and Benghazi in the Western Desert were captured; Mogadishu, capital of Italian Somaliland, was occupied by Imperial troops. In the United States the Lend/Lease Bill was signed by President Roosevelt on March 11, ensuring the supply of essential war material to the United Kingdom. The Italian Fleet was routed by the Royal Navy at Cape Matapan on March 28, and on April 4 Imperial forces entered Addis Ababa to restore Emperor Haile Salassie, the Lion of Judah, to the throne of Ethiopia.

On April 8, Greece and Yugoslavia were invaded and after some initial successes against the Italians the Greeks were pushed back by a German Army sent to bolster the Italians. A small British Expeditionary Force, sent to help the Greeks, was soon fighting to extricate itself and by May 2, 41,211 troops had managed to be evacuated from the Greek mainland. Meanwhile, in Libya, Bardia had been given up and the Eighth Army found itself confronted by a formidable adversary in General Erwin Rommel.

At home, German bombers flew regularly at night over the British mainland. The Blitz on London and major cities continued, though the Luftwaffe was beginning to prepare for the German attack on the Soviet Union.

Into this maelstrom of events, on May 10, 1941, flew Rudolf Hess, to create a nine days wonder in Britain, causing some citizens to speak hopefully of 'a crack in the Nazi government', although Prime Minister Winston Churchill later said that he 'never attached any serious importance' to what he described as an 'escapade'.

Hess, as the Party's foremost figure, was in great demand as a speaker and some historians have said that it was Hess rather than Göring who spoke of 'guns instead of butter' in a speech at Hof in October 1936. Here he speaks at a Party meeting in November 1938 at Relchenberg, the German-dominated Czech town of Liberec from whence sprang the Sudeten movement.

PARTY LEADER

Hess's rise to power within the Nazi Party really began in 1932 when he was given charge of the Party in the various regions. Less than a year later, on January 30, 1933, Hitler became Chancellor of Germany and to quote Goebbels, 'Germany [was] at the turning point in her history'. On March 24, the Enabling Act was passed in the Reichstag: Hitler became Dictator of Germany. In the March elections Hess had become a member of the Reichstag and on April 21, five days before his 39th birthday, he was appointed Stellvertreter, or Deputy Führer, giving him 'full power over the entire leadership of the National Socialist German Workers' Party'. This was followed on December 1 by his appointment as Reich Minister without Portfolio with a seat in the Cabinet. Other high ranking positions came his way: membership of the Secret Cabinet Council on February 1, 1938, and 18 months later on August 30, 1939, he was chosen to sit on the Council of Ministers for the Defence of the Reich. Hess's last and greatest triumph came two days later when Hitler appointed him second (after Göring) in the Nazi line of succession. Sir Nevile Henderson, Britain's Ambassador to Germany from 1936 to 1939, who regarded Hess in some ways as Hitler's adopted son, thought that his relations with the Army were not strong enough to keep parity between the military and the Party once war had started, otherwise he would have been declared Hitler's successor in preference to Göring.

Although in good physical condition Hess worried unnecessarily about his health, and the several British doctors involved with him from his capture until his imprisonment in Spandau believed this stemmed from a fear of cancer. He became a victim of hypochondria and wherever he went carried patent medicines and tablets. Astrology was another obsession.

He was not a particularly clever man. Loyalty to his Führer was his greatest asset and during the years of peace Hitler was content with the faithful Rudolf making speeches, attending and organising ceremonies, and generally being a 'front man' for the regime. He still had the ear of Hitler, who valued the advice of his old comrade from the early rough and tumble days of the

Notwithstanding his appeal to the ordinary Party member, Hess, unlike Göring and others, was by nature a quiet man, a music lover, particularly of chamber music; a family man, devoted to his wife and small son, living modestly at No. 48 Harthauserstrasse (*right*) in the smart Harlaching district of Munich. The house was bombed in 1944 and the site appropriated by American forces after the war. In 1975 the original name plate remained on the old gatepost on the right — surprising in view of the fact that the site is occupied by the biggest souvenir hunters of all; needless to say we left it there!

General Professor Karl Haushofer (right) had been a close friend right back to Hess's term of imprisonment with Hitler in Landsberg in 1924. The professor's son Albrecht was adviser on British affairs to the German Foreign Office. The Haushofer's did not believe that war with Britain was in Germany's best interests, a premise which Hess thought also accorded with Hitler's own beliefs.

Party, but with the coming of war, despite his high sounding titles, Hess found himself being pushed to the sidelines away from the crucial decision-making meetings involving Göring and the General Staff. With the strengthening of his assistant Martin Bormann's influence within the Party and the country Hess felt that his own star was beginning to wane. Desperate to regain what he thought was his lost prestige he looked around for an idea that would re-kindle Hitler's faith in him.

FORMULATION OF AN IDEA

Hess's friendship with General Karl Haushofer, a right-wing monarchist who after the First World War had become Professor of Geopolitics at Munich University, also extended to his son, Albrecht, like his father, a professor of geopolitics. Albrecht, although a patriot, did not believe in the war with Great Britain and secretly supported an armistice. Looming ever closer was the inevitable conflict with Soviet Russia, and Hitler, not unnaturally, did not want to fight on two fronts simultaneously. The fall of France left him (and Hess) in a quandary; they failed to understand why England (most Germans thought of the United Kingdom as England) should want to continue the fight against the Fatherland when the common enemy was Communist Russia. Hitler saw himself as the bulwark against Communism, so when France capitulated and with preparations still going ahead for the invasion of England, he made a peace offer (not the first) through neutral channels to which there was no reply. In July 1940, Hitler spoke in the Reichstag saying that he had never intended to destroy the British Empire and 'in this hour I feel it to be my duty . . . to appeal once more to reason and commonsense in Great Britain.' Speaking, he said, as the victor, he could 'see no reason why this war must go on'.

As Hitler's deputy, Hess began to formulate an idea to bring his master's wish to fruition. Fired by suggestions made to him by the Haushofers, who were both anxious to see a peaceful settlement between the two countries, Hess began to imagine himself in the rôle of peace envoy. He would personally fly to Britain, contact someone in authority and present Hitler's proposals. Surely no one would question the authenticity of an offer from the Führer's own deputy.

On September 3, 1940, the elder Haushofer wrote a letter to Albrecht about the possibility of using a middle man — 'perhaps the old Ian Hamilton or the other Hamilton'. Following this the Haushofers hit upon an idea in which the names of a number of well-known British figures were put forward as contacts. Among these were Sir Samuel Hoare, then Ambassador in Madrid, and Lord Lothian, fulfilling a like post in Washington; however the latter died in December 1940. In his last speech read for him two days before his death, Lord Lothian told his American audience, 'If you back us you won't be backing a quitter'. These do not sound like the words of a 'peace supporter'. Before Lothian's death Hess and the Haushofers' corresponded and discussed the situation; their choice of a contact finally settling on 'the other Hamilton'.

His Grace the 14th Duke of Hamilton and 11th Duke of Brandon was the premier peer of Scotland, the hereditary Keeper of the Palace of Holyroodhouse, Lord Steward of the Household and a member of the Royal Company of Archers (the King's Bodyguard for Scotland). Born in 1903, the Marquess of Douglas and Clydesdale, as he was called before succeeding to the dukedoms on the death of his father in 1940, was known as 'the boxing marquess' because of his prowess as an amateur boxer. He had many social interests and was Member of Parliament for Renfrewshire East for 10 years until his father's death, whereupon he took his seat in the House of Lords. The eldest of four brothers, all of whom served in the Royal Air Force (one being killed), Hamilton was one of Britain's first owners of a light aircraft, becoming a proficient pilot. In 1927 he joined No. 602 (City of Glasgow) Squadron, Auxiliary Air Force and four years later became its Commanding Officer. In April 1932 Hamilton was appointed chief pilot of the Houston 'Flight over Everest Expedition' and was the first man to fly over the mountain. For this feat he was awarded an

Once Hitler's last appeal to reason in his Reichstag speech on July 19, 1940 had been ignored by the British, the Haushofer's began the search for a possible contact in Britain with the ear of the Government with whom peace overtures might be broached. The choice fell on His Grace, the 14th Duke of Hamilton whom Hess said he had met at the Olympic Games in Berlin in 1936.

Air Force Cross in the 1935 New Year's Honours List. With the coming of war he served as a fighter controller in No. 11 Group, Fighter Command, and by May 1941 was a Wing Commander (soon to be promoted to Group Captain) commanding Royal Air Force Station Turnhouse, near Edinburgh. Unknown to the German conspirators Hamilton had little or no contact with either the King or the government. Hess said that he first met Hamilton at an Olympic Games reception in Berlin in 1936 although the Duke always denied it.

There was another connection between Hess and Hamilton which it was hoped would give them common ground: their long standing interest in flying. Hess had trained as a pilot in 1918 and, although he did not complete his course until the month before the war ended, flying remained a passion and in 1934 he won the annual air race round the Zugspitze. The Duke had been a serving pilot with No. 602 (City of Glasgow) Squadron since 1927 and, as Hess won his accolade for flying over the highest mountain in Germany, the Duke of Hamilton became the first man to fly over the highest mountain in the world. Although banned by Hitler to fly, Hess had still been taking up aircraft from Augsburg airfield (*above*) where he could discreetly use those belonging to the Messerschmitt works, rather than take the risk of being found out if he had used Luftwaffe machines.

PREPARATION FOR A FLIGHT

On the outbreak of war in September 1939, Hess asked Hitler's permission to join the Luftwaffe; the Führer not only refused, but banned him from flying. Hess agreed not to fly for a year, a promise he kept, although when the time was up he quietly began again.

The Messerschmitt Works and airfield were at Augsburg, the architecturally beautiful west Bavarian city on the river Lech. Living in Munich Hess found Augsburg, 50 kilometres to the west, conveniently within driving distance of the Bavarian capital and often made the trip to fly 'for recreational purposes'. One of his World War I friends was Professor Willy Messerschmitt himself, and Hess profited by this friendship by inveigling the Professor into letting him take up a Bf 108 and a 109 before asking to fly the Bf 110D — a variation of the twin-engined fighter designed in 1936 and first flown a year later. The 110D was powered by two Daimler-Benz DB601 M1 engines. At a cruising speed of 255 mph the aircraft's range was approximately 1,800 miles, but at the estimated most economical cruising speed of 185 mph this was increased to 2,000 miles. Armament usually comprised four fixed and one free 7.9mm machine guns and two fixed 20mm cannons.

According to most accounts Hess had been flying from Augsburg over a period of some months, taking up a Bf 109 or 108. It seemed natural that, highly qualified pilot that he was, he should ask and receive permission to try out what some writers have called the 'brand new mark of the Bf 110'. Flying first of all with Hitler's personal pilot, Generalleutnant Hans Baur, Hess then went solo familiarising himself with the controls of the Bf 110. Each time he flew he asked for the same aircraft bearing works number 3869 and registration letters VJ OQ flanking the Luftwaffe marking of the black cross. These letters denoted that the aircraft was non-operational such as those used for factory tests, training or communications flights. Hess became a familiar figure at Augsburg and was able to move around quite freely. His priviledged position enabled him to suggest certain modifications to the aircraft and he had reserve jettisonable tanks holding an additional 700 litres fitted to extend its range.

By several accounts Hess made three attempts to reach the United Kingdom, the first being in January 1941, although when he was interrogated on his arrival he claimed that it was his fourth venture, saying that his first had been in December 1940. Of his three other tries he said that he had been forced to return because of bad weather. One of his two adjutants, Hauptmann Karlheinz Pintsch, who was to experience great suffering because of Hess's flight, disagreed with this account. He told James Leasor (author of *Rudolf Hess The Uninvited Envoy*, Allen & Unwin, 1962) that the first flight, in January 1941, failed because the aircraft could not attain sufficient height through a fault in one of the ailerons. Before taking off Hess had given Pintsch two letters, one addressed to him with instructions to open it four hours after his departure, the other for Hitler. Pintsch told Leasor that he waited until four and a quarter hours had elapsed before opening his letter, and how shocked he was to read the contents describing Hess's bid for peace. Pintsch told Hess's chauffeur and detective who had accompanied him to Augsburg, but the conversation was interrupted by Hess's return. Later, when they were alone, Hess took Pintsch fully into his confidence and explained his reasons for his attempted flight and let it be known that he would try again.

On Saturday, May 10, 1941, Rudolf Hess was host at lunch to Alfred Rosenberg, one of Hitler's earliest comrades. At 2.30 p.m., dressed in Luftwaffe breeches and flying boots, he had tea with Ilse before leaving for Augsburg in his Mercedes accompanied by Pintsch and his personal orderly, Josef Platzer. The Mercedes was driven by his chauffeur, Rudolf Lippert, and his detective may also have been in the party. On reaching the airfield in the late afternoon he donned a Hauptmann's blue Luftwaffe jacket over which he put on a borrowed flying suit. Douglas-Hamilton in *Motive for a Mission* (Macmillan, 1971) gave Hess's rank as Oberleutnant; Hess's son, Wolf Rüdiger, in *My Father Rudolf Hess* (W. H. Allen, 1986) wrote that Hess was wearing a leather jacket without rank badges.

Meanwhile, the silver (or Luftwaffe-grey, depending on which account one reads) Bf 110D with additional fuel tanks, was made ready for its momentous flight. After shaking hands all round Hess climbed into the cockpit, started up the engines, taxied onto the runway and within minutes was on his way to what he no doubt saw as his glorious mission for the Fatherland. The time was somewhere between 5.45 and 6.00 p.m.

Accounts differ over when Hitler was informed of Hess's flight and how he reacted to the news — from shock and rage (the majority) to relative coolness. Pintsch and other members of Hess's personal entourage were arrested. The gist of a two-page letter from Hess to Hitler (which seems to have vanished) is variously quoted as suggesting that, should the mission fail, Hitler would be able to deny any involvement and say that Hess was mad. Most accounts seem to agree that Hitler knew nothing of the flight, an exception being Wolf Rüdiger's, who believed that the Führer was in the plot but denied knowledge of it when it became apparent that something had gone wrong. Goebbels, no friend of Hess, recorded that Hitler was in tears when he heard the news.

This series of pictures, reputedly taken by Hess's adjutant Karlheinz Pintsch, have often been published as being taken of the last flight and Hugh Thomas makes great play of them in *The Murder of Rudolf Hess* as vital evidence pointing to prove his belief that two aircraft were involved; Hess being shotdown and being replaced by a double for the flight to Scotland. We believe the explanation is somewhat simpler: they were taken earlier on one of the twenty-odd training flights Hess undertook from Augsburg. This clearly shows aircraft serial 3526; the Air Ministry intelligence report *and* that of the RAF Maintenance Unit which took charge of the wreckage identify the works number as '3869'.

THE FLIGHT

The Luftwaffe fighter ace Adolf Galland has described receiving a telephone call 'early in the evening' of May 10 from Göring in which he was ordered to put his whole group into the air and bring the Deputy Führer's aircraft down — in which case, this would infer Hitler having been told of the flight by then, rather than the following morning as is more generally stated. If the Luftwaffe was sent to intercept Hess, it was just another hazard he overcame. He not only successfully negotiated the air space of his own country, he also flew over occupied Holland, crossing the coast at Den Helder, 50 miles north of Amsterdam. Hess was said to be very proud of his accomplishment in flying from Augsburg to Scotland, a flight of some 900 miles, and in truth, it was an exceptionally fine solo achievement. For months, at night, he had been studying an Ordnance Survey map of Scotland familiarising himself with the countryside around Dungavel House, ancestral home of the Duke of Hamilton. By take-off time he knew every important landmark in the area.

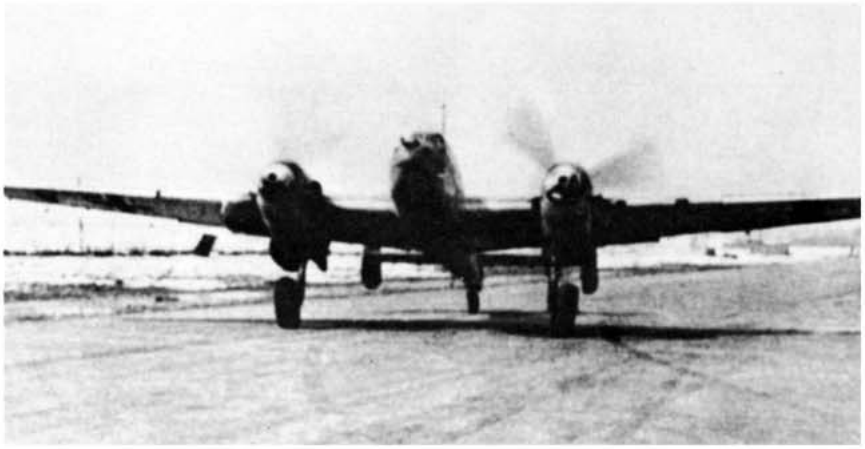
In a letter to his wife Ilse, Hess wrote that 'a veil of mist hung over England'. Flying with the aircraft's throttle wide open he dived from 6,500ft 'towards the coast at a truly terrific speed'. It was apparently at this point that he realised that a Spitfire had been on his tail although he was able to outdistance it. Hess related that the Bf 110 crossed the coast south of Holy Island at about 10.00 p.m. and 'after sunset, flew low over a little town', just above the houses, at about 750kph, by now in good visibility.

His recollection of the time of crossing the coast appears to be a little inaccurate, for at 10.10 p.m. he was being tracked by RDF (or radar, as it came to be known) as he approached the Northumbrian coast at 12,000ft. Sound contact of Hess's aircraft was first heard by one of No. 30 Observer Group's coastal posts at 10.23 p.m., seven miles north-east of Alnwick. According to the report dated May 18, 1941, of Air Commodore A. D. Warrington-Morris, Commandant of the Royal Observer Corps (ROC), the track 'continued across No. 30 Group table'. First of all logged as Raid 42 (over the sea to the north-east of the point of entry) the track over land was renumbered 42J by Durham Centre. Rapidly losing height the aircraft was seen at about 10.30 p.m. by observers of A.3 Post, Chatton, Northumberland, and identified by them 'as an Me 110 flying at 50ft'. Two minutes later it passed into No. 31 Observer Group's area (Galashiels Centre) and continued to be tracked until reaching the Forest of Ettrick, an 'un-observed area', at 10.36 p.m. One minute before two No. 31 Group posts, F.2 at Jedburgh and G.1 at Ashkirk, 'caught a glimpse of the aircraft' flying at 5,000ft and reported it as a Bf 110, it was seen going westwards by a West Kilbride post, G.3, and reported as a twin-engined, twin-rudder, hostile, which 'might be a Do 215.'

The track extended right across Scotland in an east to west direction until the Forest of Ettrick, where it went north-west to West Kilbride. Here the aircraft flew low over the west coast before turning back towards Glasgow, by now flying between 4,000 and 5,000ft. The final report came from H.2 post at Eaglesham, eight and a half miles south of Glasgow. This stated that the aircraft had crashed in flames near Bonnyton Moor, a few miles south-west of the city, at 11.09 p.m. The crash site proved to be 11 miles north-west of the Deputy Führer's aiming point — Dungavel House.

On the same day as the ROC Commandant's report (May 18), came another, No. 195 from the Operational Research Section (ORS) of Fighter Command. This designated the unknown aircraft as Raid X42, coming in almost due west at approximately 300mph and before reaching the coast the track 'bent' north-west, circled, and made landfall off Holy Island. It continued due west, meeting up with the track of ROC Raid 42J. It was at about this time that a 'fighter' was scrambled to intercept the raider. The ORS reported that 'very little RDF information was forthcoming on Raid 42 because of its height and position with respect to various stations'. As 'most of the plotting was on the fighters' the tracking of the intruder 'was continued on this information'. Raid 42 was estimated as one aircraft by Danby Beacon CH, Douglas Wood CH, Bamburgh CHL and Cresswell CHL, although Ottercops Moss CH reported it as three aircraft. The report continued with an assessment of the aircraft's height which it gave as approximately 15,000ft when first detected, coming down in a shallow dive to around 10,000ft where the ORS track met the ROC one. The report concluded that Raid 42 was on a set course when detected. Interestingly, when ROC watchers telephoned HQ No. 13 Group, Fighter Command with the news that a hostile aircraft, believed to be a Bf 110, had crossed the East Coast and was heading inland, the RAF controller treated the information with derision and suggested that the aircraft might be a Do 17.

Soon after 11.00 p.m., as the London raid was starting, the aircraft was reported to have crashed; this was followed by news that the pilot had baled out. Two hours later came confirmation that the aircraft 'was indeed' a Bf 110 and that the pilot was a prisoner.



Hugh Thomas also used this picture, copied from Leasor's book, to additionally prove that the Bf 110 which took off for Scotland was not fitted with the long-range external fuel tanks necessary to provide the range. As a drop tank was recovered in the Clyde this would again indicate that if this picture does show a Messerschmitt being piloted by Hess that it was taken on an earlier occasion.

Left: **Augsburg airfield forty years on. The post-war successor firm, Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm, inform us that when the factory was captured by American forces all the archives were destroyed and the US Air Force used the aerodrome from 1945 to 1965 when it closed for redevelopment.** *Right:* **We found a reminder of those days still painted on one of the hangars.**

To end up just 11 miles from the intended destination after a solo flight of nearly 1,000 miles, with the last 400-odd over water and enemy territory, was a remarkable achievement and one of which Hess was later very proud. After reaching what he thought was the Duke's home, Dungavel House, Hess evacuated the aircraft which scattered itself across Bonnyton Farm, 1½ miles north-west of Eaglesham (see map page 11). (RAF Museum) *Below:* **A sergeant and private of the Cameronians examine the wreckage on Sunday morning after it had been piled up on one spot.**

THE WRECKAGE

The crashed aircraft was examined by Major Graham Donald, the Assistant Group Officer of No. 34 Observer Group, who was in the ROC's Glasgow Centre when the Bf 110 came down and who motored over to the crash site. He reported that the wreckage was spread over about one and a half acres and from it he deduced that it was a 'stripped' Bf 110 with no visible guns, bomb racks or fixed recce camera. The 'petrol fire was not tremendous', which indicated that only a small amount of fuel remained. Donald's final assessment was that 'the aircraft, accessories, parachute, etc, were all brand new'. It is difficult to see how he could have reported on the parachute, which must still have been at or near Hess's landing place. The aircraft was of course a two-seater and may have carried a second 'chute. Alternatively, Donald may have had a chance to examine Hess's 'chute when he met him later at the headquarters of the local Home Guard.

The aircraft wreckage was collected by No. 63 Maintenance Unit from Carluke, near Glasgow, whose Operational Record Book (ORB) entry for May 11 reads 'Me 110 No. 3869. Salvaged from Eaglesham. This was the aircraft from which "HESS" landed.' On May 16, the ORB recorded that Flight Lieutenant Frank Edward Cowlrick of No. 43 Group had arrived to take charge of the 'Hess' aircraft. In 1979, ex-Sergeant R. S. Wilson, a member of the salvage party at

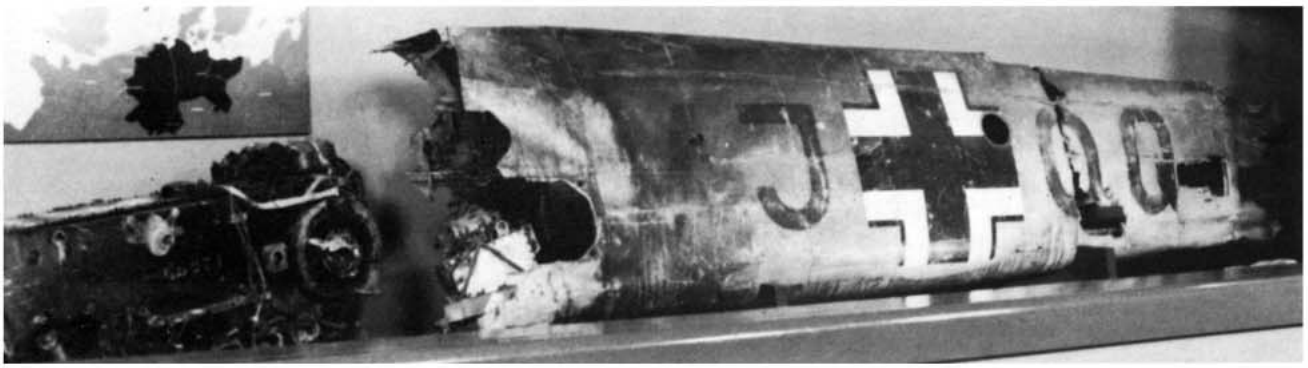
The wreckage was cleared on Sunday by No. 63 Maintenance Unit and taken to the aeroplane dump at the Castlehill coal depot at Carluke, 18 miles to the east. When the importance of this particular 110 was subsequently realised, a request was sent by the Air Ministry in London to retrieve it. *Above left:* **Although the fuselage painted with VJ+OQ was easily identified, much of the rest was intermingled with the remains of other aircraft** *(above right).* **(IWM)**

Above left: **There was not a little difficulty in extracting the correct pieces and some American and British parts were included by mistake.** *Above right:* **Only three guns? Who has the fourth, we wonder? (IWM)**

Left: **The remains of the Messerschmitt are made ready for transportation. (IWM)** *Right:* **This is Castlehill 46 years later.**

Carluke, wrote to the *Sunday Telegraph*. He said that the 'plane was removed by midday Sunday (May 11) to Carluke', which he called 'the graveyard for all Scottish area crashed aircraft'. Wilson continued: [the Bf 110] 'was . . . dumped on top of tons of other aircraft . . . and lay there mixed up until Tuesday when panic set in to find and retrieve [it] from the pile . . . we never expected it to be examined in detail, or leave our yard'. Wilson wrote that it was sent south on a Queen Mary trailer and was discovered in 1945 'in a hangar in the London area'. He didn't know what had happened to the guns; his last recollection was that they had been taken to the Carluke armoury. This last sentence is interesting in that it substantiates the AI1(g) report on the crash which states that: 'only three machine guns (17s) were found although a fourth may have been fitted . . . The machine guns were still covered in protective grease.' One photograph, taken at Carluke, shows two airmen holding three twisted machine guns with the caption ' . . . [taken] from Hess's aircraft'. There seems to be no reason to believe otherwise. The report and photograph are at variance with Major Donald's statement implying that there was no armament found on the aircraft, although perhaps this is qualified by the words *'no visible guns'* (author's italics).

The remains of the machine were packed on a Queen Mary aircraft transporter-trailer and, well placarded with the identity of its former occupant, were driven south. The Press got onto it when it reached Oxford on May 20.



What remains of it to be seen today? Of the main wreckage it seems that only the fuselage and engines have survived, the former being now with the Imperial War Museum at Duxford with one engine at Lambeth. The second engine, for many years in store at Biggin Hill and brought out at annual 'At Homes', is now retained by the Royal Air Force Museum at Hendon. This picture was taken during a display at the Museum of Flight at East Fortune in Scotland in 1984 — the engine is the 'RAF's' one. Other small relics exist in private collections (including *After the Battle's*), some items being purloined from the Queen Mary as it trundled southward pursued by an army of small boys on bicycles. Other pieces were taken when the wreckage was in store in Shropshire in 1945. The recovery of souvenirs taken at the time was the subject of special signals sent out by HQ Scottish Command for their recovery, one Lieutenant-General pleading for the return of his 'box of Bengal matches, a flash lamp and Hess's autograph' as soon as the Air Ministry had finished with them!

HESS LANDS

It is generally accepted that Hess jettisoned his auxiliary fuel tanks over the River Clyde, from where one was picked up by a British drifter the next day. Realising that he would not be able to land his aircraft, and with fuel running low, he switched off the ignition. However, one engine, ignited by the red hot cylinders, carried on firing with its propeller spinning until it too eventually stopped. It was time for him to leave the aircraft and to make his first ever parachute jump. Then he found he was unable to move! It was as if 'a giant, invisible, hand [had] thrust him back against the seat' (*Hess, The Man and his Mission* by J. Bernard Hutton, David Bruce & Watson, 1970). The pressure of air was holding him firmly in place. He remembered that he had forgotten to ask his Augsburg friends how he should jump from a Bf 110. This was not his only oversight. He had also forgotten to lower his undercarriage to slow down the aircraft by now rapidly losing height. Luckily, Hess did remember something General Ritter von Greim had once said. This was that the easiest way to leave an aircraft was to turn it over and drop out! With difficulty he accomplished this by standing the fighter almost on its tail, enabling him to fall clear. Hess is quoted by Manvell and Fraenkel in their biography *Hess* (MacGibbon & Kee, 1971) as saying: 'A second later would have meant death — Kismet!'

According to Hess, as he left the Bf 110 he struck part of the tail with his right foot below the ankle. He also said that he lost consciousness. Hutton recorded that he 'felt a sharp pain in the ankle' as he landed. Douglas-Hamilton, Leasor and W. R. Hess all agreed that the ankle was damaged in the landing, the latter two specifying the right ankle. Thomas wrote that Hess had cracked an ankle bone, without indicating which one, either in a heavy landing or by striking part of the aircraft. Thomas added that he also suffered a chipped vertebra. Dr J. R. Rees, in *The Case of Rudolf Hess* (Heinemann, 1947), quoted from a report by Lieutenant-Colonel Graham, Royal Army Medical Corps (RAMC). Hess 'complained of pain over the 12th dorsal vertebra and right ankle'. X-rays showed 'a small chip fracture of the spinous process of 12D. vertebra, and a small fragment of bone separated from the anterior surface of the tibia at the right ankle joint.'

The Deputy Führer floated down a couple of fields away on Floors Farm, within a few yards of the back of the farmhouse. After reflying the area (*top*), we stopped by the farm (*left*) in 1975 (hence a rather young deputy editor!) and were told that this stone (*right*) in the field actually marked the indentation made by Hess's boots when he hit the ground!

David McLean was the first person to meet Hess although it was only later that he learned the airman's real identity. This picture dates, we believe, from 1954, the same year that erstwhile collector of aviation relics Christopher Elliott tracked him down to ask him if he had any souvenirs from the incident. 'Only one', replied McLean, 'his oxygen mask . . . If you are interested please let me know.' He explained that he had found the mask in 'the field where the plane passed over before crashing'. Now one of the most treasured items in Christopher's collection, even though it is not Hess's own flying kit as he borrowed it from Helmut Kaden, the assistant to the airfield manager at Augsburg, shortly before take off.

CAPTURE

The credit for capturing the Deputy Reich Führer went to David McLean, variously described as a 'local farmer' (Thomas), 'farm manager' (W. R. Hess), 'head ploughman' (Manvell and Fraenkel, Hutton and Leasor), and 'a Scottish peasant' by *The War Illustrated* of May 30, 1941. Although in a subheading to an article in the same issue, supposedly by McLean, he is called 'a Scottish ploughman'. An accompanying *Daily Mirror* photograph of the man and his elderly mother also referred to them as peasants.

McLean, who was employed at Floors Farm, described how he had heard the aircraft, then a crash before 'the plane burst into flames in a field about 200 yards away'. He saw a man coming down by parachute and after equipping himself with a hayfork he hurried to the spot where the parachutist lay. McLean helped him up and was thanked 'in perfect English'. He took the German inside, where his 64-year-old mother and sister made tea which the stranger politely declined but asked for water. While waiting for 'the military authorities' to arrive their visitor showed them photographs of his son; he told them that he had left Germany about four hours before. He did not discuss his flight but he did remark that he would like to keep his parachute. McLean described him as a tall, polite, 'striking-looking man' in a 'magnificent flying suit,' wearing a gold watch and identity bracelet.

Hess did not identify himself to McLean, who thought him to be 'just another German airman'. This contradicts other accounts which quote Hess's conversation to McLean: 'My name is (or, I am) Hauptmann (Alfred) Horn' (W. R. Hess quoted his father's rank as Captain but this was probably changed from the German in translation.) He next asked to be taken to Dungavel House as he had an important message for the Duke of Hamilton.

According to David McLean's story, when the 'officials' arrived Hess smiled and told them he was unarmed, holding out his arms to allow them to search him. Leasor described 'Two Signallers . . . of the Royal Signal Corps' (he presumably meant Royal Corps of Signals) bursting in, followed almost immediately by a civilian wearing a steel helmet on which was the word 'Police', and a member of the Home Guard carrying a Webley revolver. These turned out to be Robert Williamson, an engineer and special constable, and a Mr Clark. Williamson later described Hess as 'very calm, rather impressive, with a . . . sardonic smile . . . and a twinkle in his very deep-set eyes'. He asked Hess if he was armed to which the German said he wasn't, and after wondering where they should take the prisoner Mr Clark suggested the Home Guard hut located at Busby, some five miles distant. The two men escorted the German to Williamson's car and

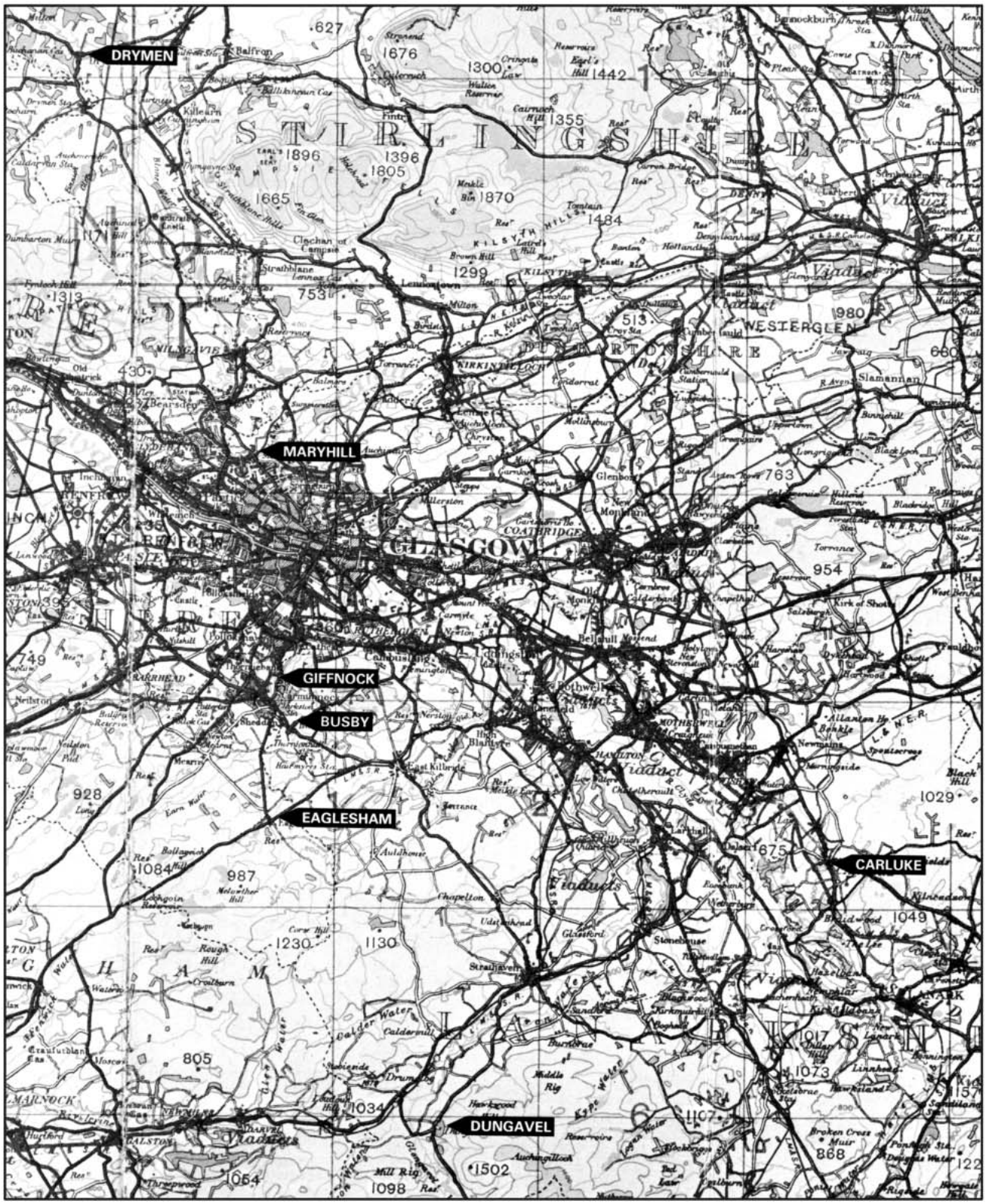
The authenticity of items purporting to have belonged to the Nazi heirarchy is not always that easy. In January 1984 we received a letter from the Shaker Heights Police Department in Ohio wishing to confirm the provenance of a 7.65mm Mauser pistol 'the pistol Rudolph Hess carried when he jumped into England'. The letter went on to state the 'the elderly gentleman who owns it reports that it was given to his father in the 1940s by a US Army Colonel . . . involved in the trial of Hess.' In our reply we enclosed a photocopy of the report by the officer commanding the 3rd Battalion Renfrewshire Home Guard who took Hess into captivity. The relevant section is reproduced below.

the farm in the vicinity of which the parachutist had been seen coming down. The Officer who resided at Waterfoot, Lieut. Clarke, had taken two of the Gunners in camp near Bonnyton Farm and the party set out. Lieut. Clarke arrived at the farm and was met there by the ploughman who informed him that the German parachutist was in the cottage. He proceeded there with his escort and took the parachutist in charge. The parachutist gave his name as Alfred Horn and satisfied Lieut. Clarke that he was unarmed. Lieut. Clarke took him in his car from the farm to Company Headquarters at Busby and advised Lieut. Gibson on the way that he had the German parachutist in charge. Lieut. Gibson was satisfied that no other parachutist had come from the Plane and he then returned to his Coy. Headquarters. The Gunners at Bonnyton had taken over the guard of the crashed plane at Bonnyton farm before the arrival there of the

Leasor wrote that Hess, a teetotaller, in a letter to his wife, complained of an escort smelling of alcohol and 'his incessant belching and stumbling', and of a 'shaking hand' poking the Webley in his back. In Manvell and Fraenkel's book the revolver is wielded by the (unnamed) Special Constable although belonging to the Home Guard.

Hutton had another man coming on McLean and Hess just after the latter had landed. This was William Craig, aged 68, who, after speaking to McLean, went off to rouse the Royal Signals detachment in Eaglesham House. Meanwhile, McLean, at Hess's request, picked up the parachute and helped the injured Deputy Führer to his cottage. Inside Hutton reported the conversation, which included Hess asking to be taken to Dungavel House where he had to 'talk to the Duke of Hamilton'. Hess told McLean that his name was Hauptmann Alfred Horn (Hutton).

Taken first to Company HQ in Busby, then on to Battalion HQ in Giffnock, Hess's effects were taken in charge by Major James Barrie of 'W' Company, 3rd Battalion, Renfrewshire Home Guard, who made an inventory of them. According to Leasor these included a hypodermic syringe, some drugs, visiting cards of the two



The main locations which feature in the Scottish end of the Hess story overlaid on the pre-war Fourth Edition of the Quarter-Inch Ordnance Survey — a popular scale for air navigation. The actual map Hess was using is reported to have been retained by the Duke of Hamilton but it has not been possible to obtain confirmation of this from his son.

The old Home Guard Company HQ at the top of Church Road, Busby — first port of call during a busy night for Hess. It was here that Major Donald first remarked on the prisoner's similarity to the Deputy Führer but the pilot identified himself as Hauptmann Alfred Horn — an alias Hess had used before the war when he wished to go on holiday incognito.

Haushofers and a letter addressed to the Duke of Hamilton. (The Duke made no mention of a letter in his report.) Hutton's story included a camera. Soon afterwards, Tom Hyslop of the Renfrewshire Constabulary arrived accompanied by Army and RAF officers and to these the prisoner gave his name as Alfred Horn, aged 47, and demanded to see the Duke. Hyslop, who had visited the aircraft wreckage, noted that its guns were still packed with grease.

Meanwhile, Home Guard troops arrived to guard the wreckage. A member of the local Home Guard who was on duty that night and was in the party that took them to the site, which was being guarded by Royal Artillery gunners from a nearby searchlight unit, was Mr Gordon Stewart of 1 Platoon, 'C' Company. In an article in the *Stirling Observer* he recalled that members of the platoon picked up souvenirs, including the cockpit clock, which was eventually mounted and 'presented by the Lord Provost . . . to a royal delegation' to Glasgow. The map Hess had used on his flight Mr Stewart remembered being given to the Duke of Hamilton (a fact confirmed in one of the official files studied by the author), which he said is now in the Lennoxlove, East Lothian home of the Duke.

Thomas and Douglas-Hamilton wrote that Major Donald of the ROC saw Hess at the Home Guard HQ and remarked on a strong resemblance between the prisoner and Hess and this is confirmed in Warrington-Morris's report. Donald spoke to Hess in German and received the reply that the pilot was 'Hauptmann Alfred Horn aged 42', on a special mission and had no intention of returning to Germany. Donald was positive that this was Rudolf Hess.

Upon his return to the ROC's Glasgow Centre, Donald telephoned RAF Turnhouse where he knew the Duke of Hamilton was serving, and informed the Sector Controller that the crashed aircraft was a Bf 110 and that the pilot had flown in with the intention of surrendering and had a message for the Duke. Donald told the Controller that the pilot had given his name as Alfred Horn, but if that meant nothing, then he could say, on his (Donald's) authority, that his real name was Rudolf Hess. The incredulous Controller was doubtful but Donald earnestly insisted that the Duke should be told 'at the earliest moment'.

IN ARMY CUSTODY

Captain Brunton was Night Duty Officer, Clyde Sub-Area on the night of May 10/11, 1941. At 12.15 a.m. Lieutenant Cowie of the 14th (Home Defence) Battalion, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders at Paisley rang to say that the Giffnock Home Guard unit had captured a German airman who had baled out. Cowie suggested that he should bring him in but Brunton said he could be put in police custody for the night. On the advice of a senior officer (Major Small), Cowie contacted RAF Abbotsinch to see if they wanted to interrogate the prisoner. The answer he received was 'No. Put him in Police cells for [the] night'. In spite of Captain Brunton's instruction, Cowie had a corporal and private stand by together with a car, and at 12.29 a.m. telephoned the Giffnock Home Guard. He was told that the prisoner was seriously injured and required immediate medical attention, and that he was a personal friend of the Duke of Hamilton. At 12.33 a.m. Cowie again rang Captain Brunton and told him of the airman's 'serious condition' and suggested that his interrogation should take place as soon as possible, adding that he might not last out the night. On hearing this Brunton, who had already spoken to Captain Anthony White, Night Duty Officer, Glasgow Area, contacted him a second time and was told that he (White) was arranging medical aid.

White reported that he telephoned the Home Guard and was given details of the crash and capture and was told that the prisoner had sprained his ankle, 'but was otherwise comfortable'. White recounted that the prisoner 'had called over to see the Duke of Hamilton, whom he knew very well'.

A guard had been placed on the airman until the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders could arrive to take him to Paisley. White instructed the Home Guard Company Commander to hold him until it could be arranged through Clyde Sub-Area for the nearest military unit to take charge of him. White then wrote that he telephoned the Sub-Area with this request and that the prisoner should be brought 'forthwith' to Maryhill Barracks. White reminded Brunton that the Home Guard sentries on the wreckage should be relieved by the military as soon as possible. He (White) said that he would make the arrangements.

White then rang 'Captain Anderson, who normally looks after prisoner-of-war work in this HQ', told him the story and said he would contact Flight Lieutenant Benson, the RAF Interrogation Officer at Turnhouse. He proposed that the prisoner be interrogated immmediately. Benson was not available but White discovered that he was speaking to 'Ops B' at Turnhouse and that the Duty Pilot was actually speaking. White continued, 'I narrated the same story to him and I was informed that they had the story already both from the Observer Corps and from Ayr Aerodrome'. The Duty Pilot added that Flight Lieutenant Benson had already been informed and that he would leave for Glasgow at 8.30 a.m.

White's next move in an exceedingly busy night was to telephone the Night Duty Officer 'A' at HQ Scottish Command, Lieutenant Lindsay Thomson, to give him the facts. He then rang his opposite number at Maryhill Barracks, 2nd Lieutenant B. Fulton of the Initial Training Centre, Highland Light Infantry, who was asleep in the Orderly Room. White told Fulton to pull himself together and to make arrangements for a German airman prisoner within an hour; Fulton was to ascertain his rank and treat him accordingly. The Medical Officer was to be warned as the prisoner was said to be injured. Fulton contacted the guardroom

Shortly after midnight Hess was driven the short distance to the Home Guard Battalion Headquarters located in the Scout Hall in Florence Drive, Giffnock — a move unrecorded by all other Hess historians.

and arranged for a cell and an armed guard to be ready to receive the prisoner. Captain White stated that when he telephoned Maryhill Barracks the time 'must have been about 0045 hrs', yet 2nd Lieutenant Fulton reported being woken at 0130. Although White had to wait for a few minutes it does not account for the 45 minutes difference in the two reports. Area Command called for a report on the night's events which was forwarded to HQ Scottish Command, but the time inconsistencies were not remarked upon by any of the senior officers who read and commented on it.

MARYHILL BARRACKS

Captain Brunton at Clyde Sub-Area telephoned the 11th Battalion, The Cameronians (Scottish Rifles) in Glasgow, requesting a guard for the crashed aircraft, and after another call from Area ordered an escort from the regiment to collect the prisoner. The time was 1.10 a.m. The Cameronians officer selected to get the captured airman was Lieutenant F. E. Whitby who, before proceeding to Giffnock, called at the Southern Police Office in Craigie Street, Glasgow, to obtain a pair of handcuffs. (In the event these were not required.) At the Home Guard's HQ he found Major Barrie who had charge of the prisoner. The two officers, accompanied by two armed men, drove him to Maryhill Barracks where, to Major Barrie's surprise, there was no guard at the gates of the guardroom. This necessitated the irate Major attracting the guard's attention by sounding his horn. When the guard finally turned out its appearance caused the Major to complain of the lance corporal in shirt and trousers held up by braces, and only one man properly dressed — in Major Barrie's words 'a disgrace to the Army . . . particularly the HLI'.

The prisoner was placed in a cell in the guardroom which, as Lieutenant Whitby later reported to his CO, was unsatisfactory. It consisted of a board bed with a mattress, three blankets and 'a greasy looking bolster'. The German protested and said that English officer prisoners were better accommodated in Germany. Whitby assured him that this was only temporary and that he would soon be moved to more suitable accommodation. Having left Hess alias Horn in the cell, the two officers proceeded to the Orderly Room where they were received by a pyjama-clad 2nd Lieutenant Fulton sitting up in bed unaware that the prisoner was an officer and having failed to provide suitable quarters or medical attention. He had no knowledge of the available accommodation or where the Orderly Officer (2nd Lieutenant Bailey) could be found; nor could he supply a torch for a soldier who was sent to find the Orderly Officer. Major Barrie loaned his. The Major further criticised the way in which Fulton arranged everything from his bed until advised to get up and get dressed. At no time, grumbled Major Barrie, was his rank acknowledged by a salute or by the word 'Sir'.

A telephone call made from his bed by Fulton was to the Barracks hospital and it was to here that the prisoner was taken under escort, arriving at the Reception Centre at about 3.30 a.m., where Major C. W. F. Greenhill, RAMC, attended to him. Greenhill reported that 'Captain Horn' complained of an ankle injury, pain in the upper lumbar region and gastric trouble of long standing. First aid was given to the ankle and he was provided with a sedative 'followed by 15grs of Pulv. Ipeoac Co' to relieve his stomach pains. A place to sleep was found for him in a side room of the detention ward where the ubiquitous Major Barrie had a bed installed. 2nd Lieutenant Bailey, armed with a revolver borrowed from a military policeman who armed himself with a rifle and bayonet, together acted as overnight guard to the prisoner.

Major James Barrie left Battalion HQ at 2.15 a.m. to drive across Glasgow to Maryhill Barracks, the sprawling Victorian complex on the north side of the city built in the 1870s to house 1,000 men.

The airman's personal articles were handed to Fulton on Barrie's return from the hospital and an inventory and receipt prepared before they were deposited in a safe. Then Barrie and Whitby took their leave of Maryhill Barracks at 4.15 a.m. Barrie drove Whitby and the two escorts back to their HQ at 35 Coplaw Street, Glasgow, then drove to his own Company HQ arriving there at 4.36 a.m.

In his report on the events of the night of May 10/11, as they affected the military, the Colonel Commanding Clyde Sub-Area, rather discounted Major Barrie's description of what had happened. He wrote that 'from personal knowledge . . . he is somewhat inclined to create a mountain out of a molehill'. The scapegoat in this rather discreditable and muddled affair was 2nd Lieutenant Fulton, who was 'dealt with' by the Brigadier Commanding Glasgow Area.

HAMILTON AND HESS

In his official report of his meeting with Hess, Hamilton wrote that he and the Interrogating Officer (presumably Flight Lieutenant Benson) arrived at Maryhill Barracks at 10.00 a.m. on Sunday, May 11, and first examined the German's effects before both officers plus the officer of the guard entered the room where the prisoner was being held. Hess, or Horn as he professed to be, was still in bed because of his injured ankle and at once asked to see the Duke alone. Hamilton agreed and the others left. Hess said that he had seen the Duke in Berlin during the Olympic Games and that Hamilton had lunched at his house. He followed this by saying 'I do not know if you recognise me, but I am Rudolf Hess'. He told Hamilton that 'he was on a mission of humanity', that Hitler 'did not want to defeat England and wished to stop fighting'. Hess then went on to refer to Albrecht Haushofer and that this was his fourth attempt at a flight. He had not come while Britain was being victorious in Libya, but was glad to come now the Germans were successful in North Africa and Greece.

Hess continued by saying that Hitler was convinced that Germany would win and he 'wanted to stop unnecessary slaughter'. He explained Hitler's peace terms to which Hamilton replied that he 'could put forward no hope of a peace agreement now'. Hamilton was asked to seek a parole for Hess from

The journey only took fifteen minutes before they drove up to the entrance where, in spite of being warned in advance, there was no sentry or guard waiting to receive the prisoner. One can picture the scene . . . an irate Major honking his horn in the dead of night . . . to be answered by a sleepy corporal in shirtsleeves. The barracks were closed in 1958 and all but the guardroom has since been demolished for flats of the award-winning Wyndford Estate completed in 1968.

the King, and was asked to notify his aunt, Frau Rothakker at Hertzogstrasse 17, Zürich, that 'Alfred Horn was in good health'. Hess's last request was that his identity should be kept from the Press. Hamilton recorded that Hess (whom he believed the prisoner was) had expressed himself 'fairly clearly, but [that] he did not properly understand what he [the Duke] was saying'. The Duke suggested that he should return with an interpreter. Douglas-Hamilton wrote that Hess gave the impression of self-confidence and told the Duke that Hitler had not been aware of his flight. According to Douglas-Hamilton, Hess asked if he could be moved out of Glasgow as he did not want 'to be killed by a German bomb'.

HAMILTON AND CHURCHILL

At about two o'clock on that Sunday afternoon Hess was moved by ambulance under escort from Maryhill Barracks to the Drymen Military Hospital in Buchanan Castle, near Loch Lomond. Major Greenhill, the doctor who had examined him at Maryhill, reported that the prisoner's ankle 'showed some ecchymosis and the gastric condition was relieved'. A guard of two non-commissioned officers (NCOs) and six privates with two officers, increased after a visit by the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General (DAAG) on May 14, to six, two on duty at a time in three reliefs, was placed on the prisoner. Instructions were issued by HQ Scottish Command that no unauthorised person was to visit him, and duty guard officers were ordered to ensure that 'no communication will pass to or from [the] prisoner without written sanction signed by staff officer Glasgow Area'. In a secret signal dated May 13 and timed 12.55 p.m., addressed to a telegraphic address 'Pristern London', Major J. A. Lynch, (almost certainly the DAAG for Scottish Command), signalled 'Medical report confirmed. Prisoner mentally normal. Injuries badly bruised ankle chip off bone one leg small chip off spine immaterial. In Specialist's opinion may be moved any time.'

The Duke of Hamilton returned to Turnhouse where, according to his son, he picked up Haushofer's letter of July 1939 and, having been given leave by the Air Officer Commanding, No. 13 Group, rang the Head of the Foreign Office, Sir Alexander Cadogan. He experienced difficulty in reaching him and eventually spoke to John (Jock) Colville, Churchill's Private Secretary, who happened to be in the office. Hamilton 'demanded to see the Prime Minister' regarding something that might be 'very important'. Hamilton told Colville that he would be at RAF Northolt in two hours, and after asking for the necessary arrangements to be made rang off. (In Hamilton's absence command of RAF Turnhouse was temporarily handed over to Squadron Leader G. F. Chater, DFC, on May 12.) The Duke reassumed command on June 1.

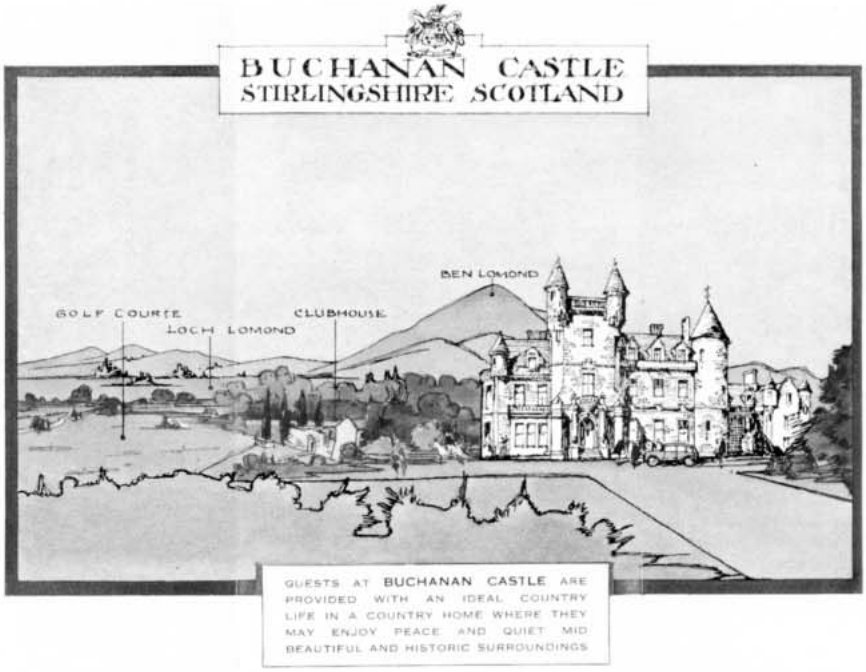
Colville contacted Churchill who was spending the weekend at Ditchley Park, north Oxfordshire, a few miles from Churchill's birthplace, Blenheim Palace. Because of this Hamilton, arriving at Northolt in a Hurricance, was diverted to the airfield at Kidlington, near Oxford. (In Hutton's account Hamilton flew from Northolt in a Miles Magister trainer.) A car was waiting at Kidlington to take the Duke to Ditchley, the former home of Viscount Dillon, now the country estate of Ronald Tree, a friend of the Prime Minister's. Douglas-Hamilton wrote that Tree's son was entertaining some 30 guests among whom were Sir Archibald Sinclair, Secretary of State for Air, and Brendan Bracken, Churchill's Parliamentary Private Secretary.

In volume 3 of *The Second World War* (Cassell, 1950), Churchill wrote that on the evening of May 11 he was watching a Marx Brothers film — *The Marx Brothers Go West* — while receiving word of the previous night's biggest raid on London. The news was bad. More than 1,400 civilians had been killed and some 12,000 were homeless. While the film was still running Churchill was told that the Duke of Hamilton had important information for him. The Duke was a friend, so the Prime Minister gave instructions for him to come to Ditchley; it was then that Churchill learned of the arrival of the Deputy Führer in the United Kingdom.

Churchill has written that he did not give 'any serious importance' to the adventure. To him it had no relevance to the momentous events that were unfolding on the world's stage. He believed that Hess was trying to regain his place in the Nazi sun and to make peace with Great Britain would ensure this. Churchill's verdict was that though naïve, these thoughts 'were . . . neither wicked nor squalid'.

At 9.15 a.m. the following day, Monday, May 12, the Prime Minister and his entourage, including Hamilton, left Ditchley for London, where (said Douglas-Hamilton) the Duke gave the news to Anthony Eden, the Foreign Secretary. Eden called in Ivone Kirkpatrick, knowledgeable in German affairs, and that evening he flew with Hamilton to Scotland in a de Havilland Rapide. Arriving at Drymen after midnight, they went straight in to interview Hess.

Rudolf Hess, in grey flannel pyjamas, was asleep covered by the usual brown Army blanket. A white shade covered by newspaper to reduce the harsh light of a single bulb, lit the room. Hess was awakened, chairs were brought for the visitors, and the prisoner proceeded with a lengthy dialogue, which was interrupted around 1.00 a.m. by another call from an impatient Eden asking


BUCHANAN CASTLE
STIRLINGSHIRE SCOTLAND
BEN LOMOND
GOLF COURSE
CLUBHOUSE
LOCH LOMOND
GUESTS AT BUCHANAN CASTLE ARE PROVIDED WITH AN IDEAL COUNTRY LIFE IN A COUNTRY HOME WHERE THEY MAY ENJOY PEACE AND QUIET MID BEAUTIFUL AND HISTORIC SURROUNDINGS

Responding to the prisoner's claim that he was a personal friend of the Duke of Hamilton, and that he had a personal message for him, the request was telephoned to Turnhouse (Edinburgh's airfield). Although the name 'Hauptmann Horn' meant nothing to him, the Duke agreed to come over the following morning with his Intelligence Officer. At this first meeting on Sunday morning at Maryhill, Hess disclosed his real identity and the purpose of his flight. He also asked to be moved out of the centre of Glasgow, which only a few weeks previously had suffered over 1,000 dead from two massive raids. After the Duke had taken his leave with the intention of flying immediately to London, Hess was driven by ambulance 25 miles to the north to Buchanan Castle, nestling on the shore of Loch Lomond near Drymen (pronounced Drimmen), which had been taken over by the Army for a military hospital. Built by the Graham family in the mid-1800s, before the war the castle had been a delightful golfing hotel where Jack McLean provided the tuition.

When the Duke telephoned the Foreign Office he was initially offered an appointment in 'a couple of weeks time'! Fortunately for him the Prime Minister's Private Secretary was present and the Duke's personal friendship with Churchill gained him immediate access to the PM who was spending the weekend in the country. The Duke spent a hectic Monday in London, battered and still smoking from the heavy raid on Saturday night, while the Government considered their next move. It was not until evening that he was free to return to Scotland with one of the Government's experts in German affairs, Ivone Kirkpatrick, who had been First Secretary at the British Embassy in Berlin up to 1939.

In our journey to retrace Hess's footsteps in Scotland, after our disappointment in finding Maryhill demolished, we arrived at Drymen in high hopes of tracking down the actual attic bedroom where he had been kept in isolation. Alas, although the golf course remained, we found the Castle almost a total ruin. We discovered that the Army had retained it up to 1947-48 but three or four years later the roof was removed to avoid any further liability for the Montrose estate to pay rates.

what progress had been made. Kirkpatrick confirmed to him that the prisoner was indeed Hess, and on this basis No. 10 Downing Street issued a bulletin that the German officer who had landed in Scotland was the Deputy Führer.

Kirkpatrick returned to the prisoner's room and Hess continued his discourse. Kirkpatrick wrote that by 3.00 a.m. Hess was still talking and at this point Kirkpatrick interrupted the flow to demand to know the purpose of his flight. Hess said that a German victory was inevitable and he wanted to negotiate a peace, otherwise the British would be subjected to bombing and blockade by U-Boats. Peace terms would allow Germany to retain her hold on Europe and get back her former colonies; Britain would be able to retain her Empire. The German Army and the Royal Navy 'would rule the world'. However, the Führer would not negotiate with Churchill. By now it was almost 4.00 a.m. and the Duke and the diplomat left to get a much-needed meal.

On May 14, the two men were instructed to interview Hess again and, in answer to a question put to him by Kirkpatrick, he said he had thought up the whole thing himself and had only spoken of it to Professor Haushofer. Before leaving the hospital Kirkpatrick asked the doctor if Hess was sane. The reply was that although odd he was not insane and could not be certified. The following day found Kirkpatrick back with Hess and the diplomat asked if Hitler was liable to take military action against Russia. Hess said that this 'was out of the question'. He made a number of complaints including one that he was being poisoned and insisted that the officer of the guard should act as a food taster!

REACTION IN EUROPE AND THE USA

The German communiqué announcing that 'Party Member Rudolf Hess' was missing stated that for some years he had been suffering from an illness and 'had been strictly forbidden' to fly. The bulletin went on to say that Hess had taken an aircraft and set out from Augsburg and had not yet returned. It referred to a letter he had left behind which showed signs of mental disorder and hallucinations. The bulletin concluded with the thought that Hess had either jumped out of the aircraft or had 'met with an accident'.

The United States was still at peace and 'the Hess flight had captured the American imagination' as Roosevelt cabled Churchill. J. Edgar Hoover, chief of the FBI, alleged that the peace proposals Hess had brought had caused Conservative Party leaders to call upon Churchill to give them 'full consideration'. On June 22, the day Germany invaded Russia, Lord Halifax, the British Ambassador, called on Secretary of State Sumner Welles to assure him that these reports were false.

The USSR viewed the Hess episode with great suspicion. After the German invasion the Moscow Press made a lot of noise and Foreign Minister Molotov publicly demanded that Hess be tried as a war criminal by an international court. Stalin probably went to his death believing that the British government had been ready to 'do a deal' with Hitler, and in some quarters it was thought that this coloured Soviet thinking in relation to Hess's imprisonment right up to his death.

The reaction in Germany 'was indescribable' according to Ulrich von Hassell, an anti-Nazi who was executed in 1944 and whose diaries were published by Hamish Hamilton in 1948. On May 18 he wrote 'the effect will be to prolong the war. The background [of the flight] is not yet clear . . . [but] his sporting and technical performance alone showed that Hess cannot be called crazy'.

Germans were told that Hess had 'cracked up'; become 'a deluded, deranged and muddled idealist, ridden with hallucinations traceable to First World War injuries'. Goebbels wrote, 'He is past hope of redemption', and Hitler ordered him shot if he should return to the Fatherland.

In the United Kingdom the news that 'Rudolf Hess, the Deputy Führer of Germany and Party Leader of the National Socialist Party, had landed in Scotland . . . ' was announced by the BBC on the night of May 12. The astonishment caused by this occurrence was followed shortly afterwards by indignation at what was thought to be the extravagant way Hess was being treated.

One can imagine the incredulous reaction when the news was released of the arrival in Britain of the Third Reich's Deputy Führer. Speculation was rife but the Press were to suffer a complete ban on the release of any pictures; throughout the war and, one might add, right up to the present day. The *Daily Sketch* managed to take these shots of what they thought was 'the big country house in the Home Counties to which Rudolf Hess has been taken'. However when submitted to the Press and Censorship Bureau on May 18, publication was refused even though at that time Hess was being held in the Tower.

Churchill told Foreign Secretary Eden on May 13 that Hess should be kept isolated near London and treated as a prisoner-of-war under the jurisdiction of the War Office, but one who could later be arraigned for war crimes. Hess's health and comfort should be assured and 'food, books, writing materials, recreation . . . provided. . . . He should be treated with dignity . . . '

At 6.00 p.m. on May 16, Hess was driven in a military ambulance to Glasgow where he was put aboard a London-bound train. On arrival in the capital Hess was incarcerated in the Tower of London. By his own account he was housed at first in officers' quarters close to the White Tower, and from this vantage point was interested to watch guardsmen at their daily drill.

MYTCHETT PLACE

On May 21, Hess was removed from the Tower and transported to Hampshire, where a secure detention area had been prepared at Mytchett Place, a country house near Aldershot. The house had been built in 1779 and had now become a miniature fortress with trenches, machine gun posts and barbed wire. Detachments of the Coldstream and Scots Guards under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel A Malcolm Scott, Scots Guards, were on constant duty.

During his stay Hess, who became known as the 'Squire of Mytchett Green', was visited again by Ivone Kirkpatrick on June 10, this time accompanied by Lord Simon, the Lord Chancellor. Hess failed to appear before lunch, staying in bed and complaining of being unwell, but dressed in his Luftwaffe uniform, eventually saw the two Englishmen. The interview lasted for more than two hours and, according to Douglas-Hamilton, Hess said that Hitler had no knowledge of his flight, but that he knew what the Führer's peace terms would be. The visitors left and six days later in the early hours of June 16 Hess made his first suicide attempt by throwing himself over the banisters of the stairs, succeeding only in breaking his left leg.

At Mytchett Place Hess was treated by a psychiatrist, Major Henry V. Dicks, who was afterwards relieved by Captain M. K. Johnston; it was Major Dicks who attended Hess after his attempt at suicide. After this six mental nursing orderlies of the RAMC looked after him, two at a time in eight-hour shifts.

On June 19, Colonel Rees, Consultant in Psychological Medicine to the Army, submitted a report on Hess to the Deputy Director of Psychological Warfare. In it he wrote that Hess's condition had markedly deteriorated since he first visited him and Hess was now

Also refused permission to publish, the erstwhile *Daily Mail* (whose name will crop up again later in the story) managed to take this picture of what they claimed was 'the ambulance in which Hess was driven away on arrival in London'.

Although the guards at Buchanan had been increased, security at the remote location was still deemed a problem and, pending conversion of a suitable building within easy reach of London, Hess spent a week in the King's House in the Tower of London.

The complete lack of photographs of Hess after his capture would appear to stem directly from Churchill's demand for complete isolation and secrecy. Hess was somewhat of an embarrassment to the Governments of both sides and no doubt Hitler was relieved to find that Britain soft-pedelled the affair. There was no way that Hess was going to be taken seriously and, after some further interviews, he was just shuffled off to the sidelines for the duration. From the Tower he was taken to Mytchett Place (*above left*) near Aldershot, where barbed wire barricades and machine gun posts had hastily been installed. Thirty-nine years after Hess was there, the BBC produced their documentary *The Strange Case of Rudolf Hess*, taking film at many of the original locations. Whether Victor Beaumont's portrayal of the man himself, in this still taken outside Mytchett Place, now used as offices by the Royal Army Medical Centre at Keogh Barracks, was accurate is open to question.

convinced that he was going to be poisoned. He also thought that there was a plot against his life and sanity. Hess explained his attempted suicide by saying 'he would rather be dead than mad in this country'. Rees continued, 'Hess's mental condition . . . has now declared itself as a true psychosis [insanity]. There is no . . . treatment which holds out a good prospect of recovery from this type of disorder. . . . Although Hess is secretive . . . it seems clear that there must have been similar attacks of this mental trouble previously. . . . Hess may therefore be a mental patient on our hands permanently. . . . The decision to allow him news is, I think, very wise. It may help to make him rather more co-operative. . . . '

Hess had one more interview. On September 9, Lord Beaverbrook spoke to him for an hour and during this talk Hess said that Germany would make peace with Britain 'on any terms' as long as the United Kingdom joined in the attack on the USSR which had commenced almost three months before.

Hess's prison was code-named 'Camp Z'. *Left:* **In 1941 a wire grille was fitted in this opening leading onto the first floor landing from Hess's quarters (*right*). Although the door in the grille was guarded by a military policeman, on June 16, 1941 Hess dashed through as it was opened to let Dr Dicks in and launched himself over the balcony in a desperate attempt at suicide.**

The BBC recreated the suicide attempt on the actual spot where it had taken place. Hess ended up with a broken leg but was otherwise uninjured. It seems his main concern at the time was over his breeches — which had to be cut off with scissors!

Hess remained at Camp Z for just over a year before being moved to Abergavenny in south Wales, to Maindiff Court Hospital which had been taken over by the Emergency Medical Service for the treatment of Service casualties. Although no mental patients were under treatment there, it was considered a more suitable location to treat the psychological disorder that Hess had developed as well as being a secure location under military control. Today it is managed by the Gwent Health Authority. Hess's accommodation was in Tregaron Ward.

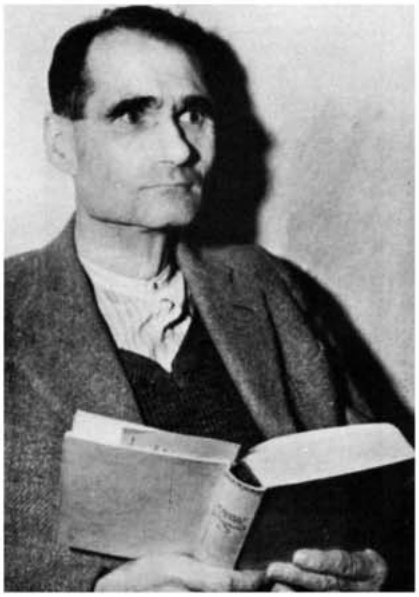
MAINDIFF COURT

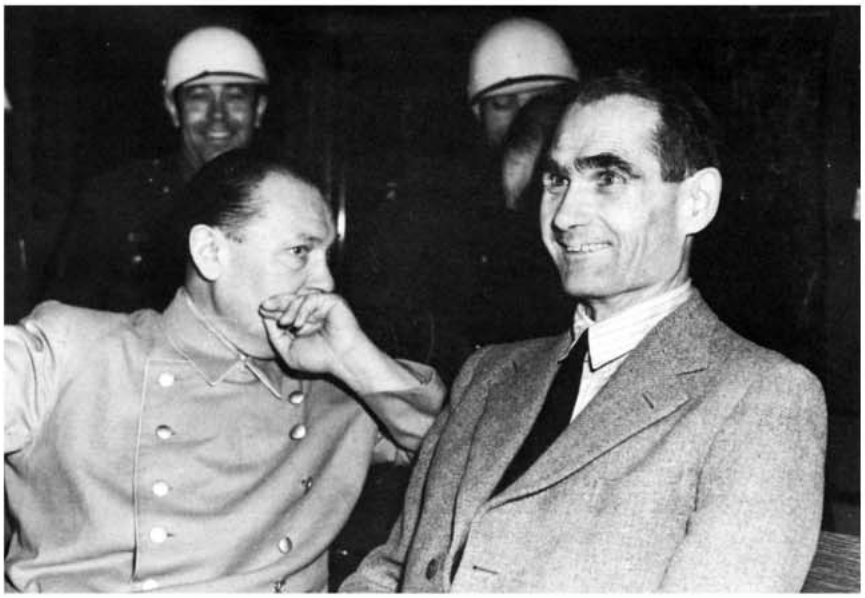
Hess remained at Mytchett Place for a further nine months after Beaverbrook's visit, then it was decided to move him to south Wales. On June 25, 1942, he was sent to Maindiff Court Hospital, Abergavenny, in pre-war days an admission hospital for Monmouthshire County Mental Hospital. Here he was accommodated in two small rooms abutting each other. He was now watched over by officers and men of the Pioneer Corps and, according to Hutton, he 'considered this an affront to his dignity'.

Hess's medical condition on admission was diagnosed as 'mentally alert . . . but his bearing was suspicious'. In his book, *The Case of Rudolf Hess*, Dr J. R. Rees described Hess's condition in July and August 1942 as normal. He read, he was taken for short car rides into the country, and his mental condition bore no relation to what it was when he was at Mytchett Place. However, on September 25, Hess was told to expect a visit from Brigadier Rees. The following day the 'wild look' had returned and he was 'a complete psychotic picture of paranoid reaction'. He repeated his poison accusations; noise from the nearby railway annoyed him and he claimed that his wireless set was being tampered with. Hallucinary symptoms were apparent and he became irritable. Attacks of abdominal cramps grew in number causing Hess to roll about on the floor ending in complete exhaustion.

Hess made another attempt at suicide on the afternoon of February 4, 1945, when he stabbed himself in the lower left side of the chest with a bread knife. The wound proved to be slight and needed only two stitches. He had changed into Luftwaffe uniform before making the attempt as he had on the previous occasion. Four days later Hess refused to shave, took no food for the fourth day and said that he would starve to death. On February 12, he had still not taken nourishment, but when faced with being forcibly fed he took some orange juice and from then on ate satisfactorily.

Hess was taken to Maindiff Court by car on June 25, 1942. Two rooms had been set aside in the end of the block, each having doors which led out onto a verandah and walled exercise area. Here Hess spent the next three years of his life — under constant medical supervision. Regular visits were allowed for the Swiss protecting power to inspect the prisoner.





Although we scoured every possible archive, including those in the more liberal United States, no pictures are available of Hess during his imprisonment. His medical file, which may contain photographs taken at Maindiff Court, is closed at the Public Records Office for 75 years. Only when he re-emerged into the spotlight at Nuremberg (*left*) do we see how his appearance has deteriorated. (IWM) *Right:* **Despite it all there were still moments of humour when even the guards laughed. (Associated Press)**

THE RETURN TO GERMANY

Orders were received at Maindiff Court on October 6, 1945, for the removal of the prisoner to Nuremberg two days later (Leasor and Hutton agreed on October 10 as the removal date), and Hess, accompanied by Major D. Ellis Jones, RAMC, and according to other authors, an Army officer (Lieutenant A. J. B. Lacombe), a sergeant and a civilian official. The party flew from Madley, near Hereford, landing at Brussels for lunch, although the flight had reputedly made some of them, including Hess, queasy. After lunch the flight to Nuremberg was resumed, where Hess was handed over to Major Douglas McG. Kelley of the US Army Medical Corps, psychiatrist to Nuremberg Prison.

NUREMBERG

Major Airey Neave, later murdered by the IRA, had been a prisoner-of-war in Germany when Hess undertook his notorious flight to Scotland. On October 16, 1945, he served on Hess the International Military Tribunal's indictment. Of his first meeting with the former Deputy Führer in his cell Neave later wrote that 'a schoolboy grin broke over his white face' and lifting up his hands that had just been handcuffed, said, 'I am not really mad. I shall not hurt you.' Taking the indictment he asked Neave if he could defend himself and, on being told that he could said, 'Then I wish to do so.' He also remarked that he wanted a separate trial, not one with Göring. He was not tried separately and Neave managed to get him a German lawyer.

The International Military Tribunal opened on November 20, 1945, in the courtroom of the Palace of Justice. The President of the Tribunal was Lord Justice Lawrence, who subsequently became the first Baron Oaksey. The other judges were Sir Norman Birkett (Britain), Francis A. Biddle and John J. Parker (USA), Iola T. Nikitchenko and Alexander F. Voltschkov (USSR), Henri Donnedieu de Vabres and Robert Falco (France).

Ten days after the trial opened came the question: was Hess fit to stand trial and plead? The legal arguments were based on the medical evidence and Hess was defended by his counsel, Dr Günther von Rohrscheidt (replaced on February 5, 1946, by Dr Alfred Seidl, defence counsel for Hans Frick and still the Hess family lawyer, as Dr Rohrscheidt had broken his leg in an accident). Towards the end of the evidence the prisoner was allowed to speak. He amazed the court by saying that his memory was again in order and the reasons why he had simulated loss of memory were tactical, his ability to concentrate had been slightly reduced. He said that his counsel was 'in good faith' when he maintained that his client had lost his memory.

Major Kelley, who spoke to Hess immediately after he had returned to his cell after dropping his 'bombshell', reported that the prisoner 'was elated over the impression he had created in the court-room' and was very proud of his acting. Kelley said that he had total recall of his flight to Scotland and maintained that the only other people 'in the know' were his two adjutants. He expressed pride in the flight and in his navigational proficiency. He described the flight and his parachute jump to Kelley and insisted that he did it to stop the war. He also recalled his imprisonment in England and his first suicide attempt. The outcome of the Hess examination was that in the Tribunal's opinion he was capable of standing trial and in no need of further physical check-ups.

Hess took very little interest in the trial and read during much of his time in court; sometimes not bothering to wear his headphones. When each defendant was asked to plead, Hess said one word: 'Nein'. The case against him commenced on February 7,

On August 31, 1946 the 20 defendants made their final pleas to the military tribunal before the court adjourned to consider its verdicts. (Associated Press)

1946, with Lieutenant-Colonel J. M. G. Griffith-Jones as the British prosecuting counsel. Although he had just two days to prepare, Dr Seidl ably defended Hess and made his concluding speech on July 25. The trial dragged on and it was not until September 30 that judgement was given. The verdicts were delivered by the judges of the four Allied Powers: the Russian judge, Major-General Nikitchenko, pronouncing Hess guilty on Counts One (the Common Plan or Conspiracy) and Two (Crimes against Peace), but not guilty on Counts Three (War Crimes) and Four (Crimes against Humanity). On the afternoon of the next day came the sentences, each one pronounced individually. Hess was sentenced to life imprisonment. All the prisoners submitted appeals but these were rejected as were pleas for clemency.

In the 24 hours between verdict and sentence the Russians protested at the Hess finding and Nikitchenko delivered a dissenting judgement declaring Hess guilty on Count Four and demanding the death penalty. This was rejected. The last phase in the life of Rudolf Hess was about to begin.

Judgement was given on September 30, a day on which Hess complained of being unwell with his stomach trouble. Göring acts as if he has heard it all before as Hess holds his head before having to leave the courtroom. Ribbentrop on his left also appears unconcerned. (Associated Press)

SPANDAU

Seven of the prisoners were not to be executed and the three principal Allied Powers bickered over where they were to be imprisoned. The Russians wanted them in Plötzensee Prison in Berlin; the Americans choice was Nuremberg; while the British indicated that they would take them into Spandau. The latter prison was eventually chosen and the prisoners left Nuremberg on July 18, 1947, after being awakened at 4.00 a.m. Each one was handcuffed to a US military policeman and they were taken in two ambulances under guard to the airfield where they boarded a Dakota for RAF Gatow. Apart from Hess the prisoners were: former Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz, Walther Funk, Baron Konstantin von Neurath, former Grand Admiral Erich Raeder, Baldur von Schirach and Albert Speer. In the course of time all were to leave the prison alive, with one exception.

Before the prisoners could be removed from Nuremberg to Spandau another little drama was acted out. A British officer, Squadron Leader Hugh Quinlan of the RAF Regiment, had been seconded to the Allied Control Commission in Germany and was appointed the first Allied governor to Spandau Prison. He presided over the alterations necessary for accommodating just seven prisoners in a jail said to have been built for 600. Quinlan had the task of drafting the rules and regulations for the prison, and from the beginning experienced trouble with the Russians, who wanted a harsher environment for the inmates. He refused to be intimidated and declared that unless the Russians acceded to his terms he would not accept the prisoners. Ultimately agreement was reached and Quinlan signalled 'The chickens have arrived.' He served as governor until 1948 when he gave up the post at his own request. Hugh Quinlan died in April 1987, less than four months separating the deaths of Spandau's first Allied governor and very last inmate.

Enclosed by two electrified wire fences, and according to Hutton, with an inner minefield, the prison was surrounded by high walls (Manvell and Fraenkel: 15ft; Hutton: 26ft), with watchtowers at intervals (Hutton gave the number as nine, but the author believes there were only six). Machine guns were manned by troops 24 hours a day and searchlights lit the compound at night.

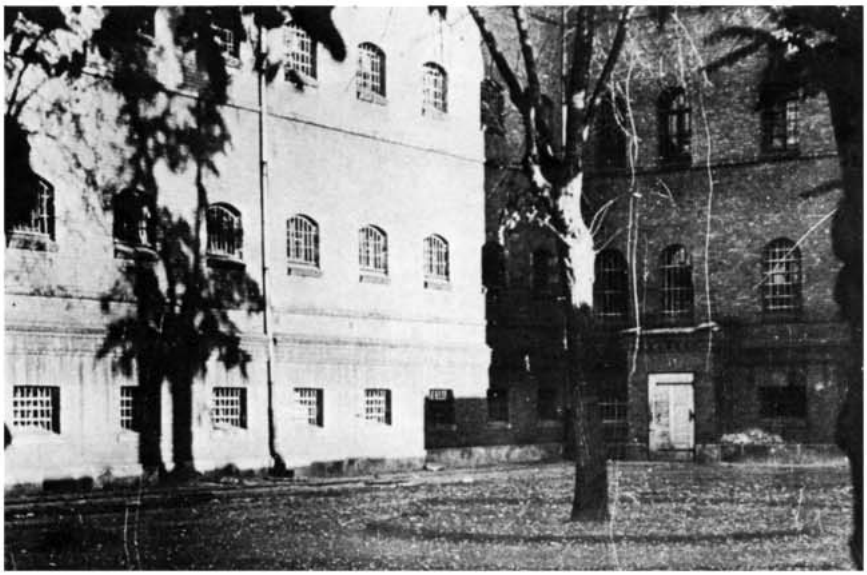
Each of the four Allied Powers supplied a director (or governor), a guard of one officer and 28 soldiers, two doctors, five warders, two cooks, and a staff of porters, kitchen workers, washerwomen and a stoker. The military personnel were changed each month, the rotation being: French: January, May, September; British: February, June, October; Russians: March, July, November; Americans: April, August, December. The annual bill for the upkeep of the prison was paid for by the Federal government in Bonn and the West Berlin senate, and was estimated by the London *Daily Mail* at the time of Hess's death at £300,000, although *The Guardian* put the figure at £700,000.

PRISON LIFE

The seven prisoners and their guards arrived at Spandau having been driven from Gatow airfield in a blacked-out bus (Manvell and Fraenkel: blacked-out cars). Hutton gave the time as 11.00 a.m., Wolf Rüdiger Hess thought it was late in the afternoon. Each prisoner was given a number: 1, von Schirach; 2, Dönitz; 3, von Neurath; 4, Raeder; 5, Speer; 6, Funk; 7, Hess. They were known by these for the whole time of their stay — for Hess, for the rest of his life.

Hess's cell measured 7ft×9ft×13ft and was entered by a barred iron door with a spyhole. Opposite the door was a three foot square window which was about halfway up the wall allowing light to filter in but placed too high for him to see out. In the left corner was an open white WC with a black plastic seat; also

Apart from these two photographs which were released on October 30, 1946 to show where the 'Nazi leaders who were sentenced to terms of imprisonment will serve their sentences' no other interior pictures of Spandau prison on the Wilhelmstrasse, have been permitted. (Associated Press)



The ritual of the monthly change of the guard. This early picture dates from April 1953 as the Russians hand over to the Americans. The following month the duty would be given to the French and then to the British, this same rotation being maintained year in, year out, for exactly 40 years. (Landesbildstelle, Berlin)

on this side of the cell was a badly-sprung black iron bedstead on which was a horsehair mattress, bolster, two small pillows and woollen blankets. This protruded into the room so that it stood underneath the window. On the wall across the cell from the bed was a tiny open cupboard with one shelf, the whole less than 2ft high and wide. Hess used this for his underwear, towels and toiletries. The bottom half of the cell was painted in a dull yellow with the upper part and ceiling whitewashed. The prisoners were later given permission to redecorate their cells. Completing the dingy, cheerless room was a stone floor.

The day began at 6.00 a.m. Breakfast was from 6.45 to 7.30; lunch, 12.00-12.30; supper was at 5.00 p.m. with lights out at 10.00 p.m. Three days a week from 1.00 to 2.00 p.m. the inmates were shaved and if necessary, had their hair cut. Their lives were strictly regulated, especially when the Russians were on duty. Under the Americans and British the discipline was gradually somewhat eased. They were each allowed to cultivate a small garden, but vegetables only, no flowers. Books were allowed and daily newspapers, but letters were restricted to one a week; they were permitted visitors once a month. It was not until 1969 that Hess would allow his wife to visit him, his only visitor before then was Dr Seidl, who saw him in Spandau for the first time on November 19, 1964.

On November 6, 1954, came the release of the first of the Spandau seven. This was von Neurath, who had been sentenced to 15 years; 10 months later, on September 26, 1955, Raeder, who had been given life imprisonment, was released. Another year was to pass before it was the turn of Dönitz, who left on October 1, 1956. The first two had been in their seventies when entering the prison and both were in bad health, but Dönitz served his full 10-year sentence. However, Funk, who was another life inmate, and was only three years older than Hess, had his sentence remitted on May 16, 1957, also on the grounds of ill-health. Von Schirach, reported to be half-blind, and Speer, both served their full 20 years and were released together on October 1, 1966. Only Prisoner No.7 now remained.

Dr Seidl had been making efforts for Hess's release to various authorities since November 15, 1948 and many more were to be made as decade succeeded decade. Always the powers-that-be 'turned a deaf ear'. It was usually said or surmised that if it had been just the British, American, or even the French involved, with Hess becoming increasingly unstable, the Allied authorities would have released him on the grounds of humanity.

In November 1969, Hess suffered from a perforated duodenal ulcer and was transferred to the British Military Hospital about 200 yards from the prison. It was here that he saw his wife and son for the first time since that fateful May day in 1941. This presaged an increasing number of visits to the hospital, especially as he grew older, and a single room was permanently reserved for him there. Just two weeks before he died *The Daily Telegraph* reported that, unbeknown to Hess, this room was a 'mini-fortress' with folded steel shutters that would enclose wall and windows at the 'touch of a button'. These were said to be precautions against either a rescue attempt or an attack on his life.

Same view in 1985, kindly supplied to us by one of our readers in Berlin who reminded us in his letter that 'photos of the prison are forbidden'.

Alone. From October 1, 1966 when the last two prisoners sentenced to 20 years had been released, only Hess remained. How many times he must have trudged this well-worn route through the prison garden? Associated Press released the picture in April 1969 to coincide with his 75th birthday, since used many times, but then evidence of a flagrant breach of the no-photographs rule during the period when Colonel Eugene Bird was the Governor. (Bird was later dismissed for abusing his position to prepare a definitive book on Hess.) Two months later a direct approach was made by the three Western Allies to the Soviet Union to agree the release of Hess but the Russian attitude was unchanged, as was that of the Allies not to unilaterally free Hess. In November he was able to leave the prison for the first time when he was transferred to the British Military Hospital 200 yards away. On Christmas Eve he was still there and his son and wife were permitted a visit — the first time they had met since May 1941. Three months later Hess was returned to Spandau.

The attempts at release continued with signed petitions, demonstrations and appeals. An all-party 'Freedom for Rudolf Hess Campaign' was started in the United Kingdom; letters were written to Members of Parliament and the Press — all to no avail. Airey Neave's widow, Baroness Airey of Abingdon, made a plea for Hess in June 1980, and told the House of Lords that her husband had fought for more than 10 years to get him released from Spandau. The reply was the same: ' . . . there has been no sign of [a] Soviet change of heart'. Whether or not the Russians realised it, as they continued to say 'Niet', so the number calling for Hess's release increased. People of different political persuasions joined together in what they saw as a cry for humanity.

THE WRONG MAN?

It was in 1977 that another bombshell exploded with the publication of Dr Hugh Thomas's book *The Murder of Rudolf Hess*, suggesting that the man in Spandau was not Hess at all but an imposter. This caused a furore and much was written and said about the probability or improbability of Thomas's claim. Questions were asked in the House of Commons and calls were made for an inquiry which were backed by Frau Hess and her son. Ilse described Thomas's assertion as 'ridiculous'. Albert Speer, who said he had 'spent many hundreds of hours together' with Hess, called it 'utter nonsense'. The British government 'studied' the book, but decided that no further action was called for.

DEATH

In a newspaper interview Ilse Hess told a *Sunday Telegraph* reporter that her husband had become very interested in space exploration and nuclear energy. She said that he had a television set in his cell but was only allowed to watch certain programmes. Likewise, his newspapers were censored; any references to himself, the Nazis or the war were cut out with scissors before the papers were given to him. Ilse was still visiting him at this time, although before the end came she had to give up because of her own frail condition. Wolf Rüdiger carried on with the visits when his mother had to stop. It was a cruel fact that she was not allowed to kiss her husband or even hold his hand.

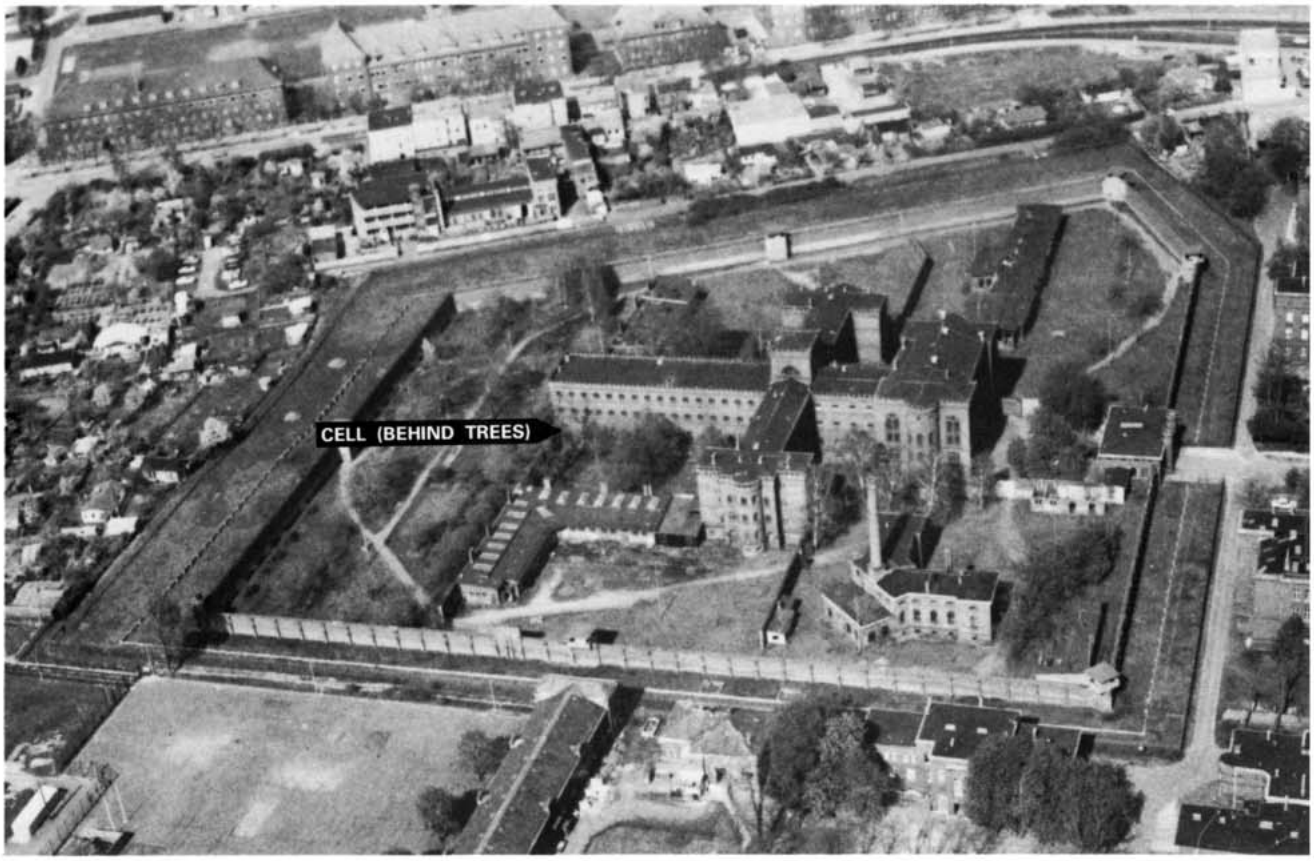
In July 1986, Hess was back in the British Military Hospital for a short while after complaining of not feeling well. Each time he entered the hospital British troops were placed on guard. Then on Tuesday, April 21, 1987, the West German newspaper *Bild* reported that the old man 'could be released' on the following Saturday, the day before his 93rd birthday. This proved to be false and the name of Rudolf Hess again slipped off the pages of the world's Press until Monday, August 17, 1987. Around 4.30 p.m. the BBC suddenly announced on the radio, followed shortly after by a TV newsflash, that an unconfirmed report said that Rudolf Hess was dead.

HOW DID HE DIE?

The death of Hess when it was confirmed was not a straightforward snuffing out of life. One would perhaps have thought of a sick old man suddenly suffering a heart attack, or having an accident at a time of life when brittle bones snap and pneumonia quickly sets in. Not so with Hess. As in life, so in death. Confusion, untruths, hurried explanations leading to a volte face — these were the ingredients making up the official versions of the death of Spandau's Prisoner No. 7.

The first news broadcasts of Hess's death spoke of him being rushed to the British Military Hospital, where he died. No cause of death was given. Some while later the story was changed, Hess had died in a gardener's shed in the prison grounds. The

Hess was taken to the same hospital several times during the following years for various treatment. Then on August 17, 1987 came the last and final visit.

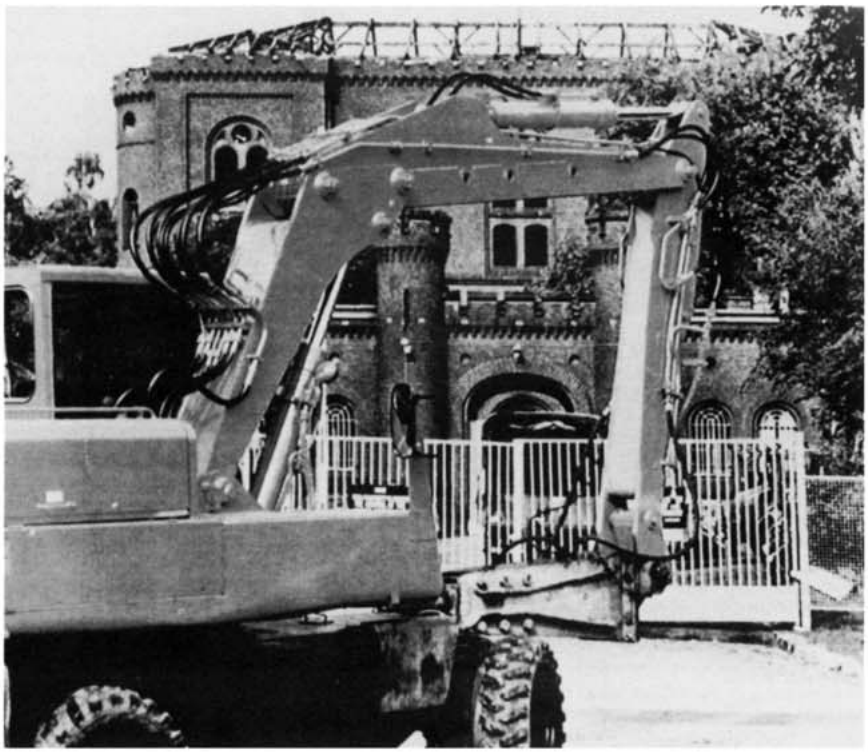


Where did he die? We put the question to the British Military Government who replied that they were 'unable to indicate where the garden house was situated as it was agreed between the Four Powers that such information would not be made public'. Hess's double cell is pinpointed on this 1966-vintage picture from information supplied us by Albert Speer before he died in 1981. (Associated Press)

next news which was published in the following day's newspapers was that he had died in the 'prison cell which was his home for 40 years' to quote the *Daily Mail*. The *Daily Express* said that the cause of death had not been given but Hess had died in the hospital. *The Independent* agreed on the place of death and said that 'Details of his last hours are not clear'. He had been rushed to the hospital at about 4.00 p.m. so suddenly that there was no time for his usual police escort.

The Times headlined Hess's death as did most, if not all, London national papers, and referred to him as 'The most expensive, most mysterious and loneliest prisoner in the world'. The latter part of that statement was taken up by many of its rivals. *The Times* said he was ' . . . a ghost long before he died, an ancient but sinister shadow from a vanished world'. It stated that he had been 'guarded and tended by more than 600 people — soldiers, supervisors, clerks, cooks and doctors' from the four nations who had him in charge and the cost to the West German taxpayer was 'more than 2.6 million Deutschmarks a year'.

The Daily Telegraph reported that the news of Hess's death 'was broken by Dr Alfred Seidl' and after a post-mortem the body 'will be released to his family for burial, probably within 24 hours'. It was thought that he would be buried quietly in the 'family plot near the Hess home in the small Bavarian town of Wunsiedel'. The paper quoted 'Ex-major Walter Kruger, organiser for the SS Veterans' Association' as saying that if the funeral was private, they would 'stay away', but if it was a public one he promised that thousands of veterans would attend. He added, 'He will be buried as a martyr'. The *Telegraph* recalled that in October 1986 a bomb attack was made on Spandau by the Freedom Commando Rudolf Hess. The *Financial Times* commented on the fact that the Soviet government must have relented to allow the body to be given to the family as in the past they had wanted 'a secret disposal of Hess's remains, possibly strewing them to the winds'.



'From Information Department, British Military Government, Berlin. Press Release — 17 August 1987. Termination of Allied administration of Spandau prison. The purpose of Spandau Allied prison has ceased on the death of Rudolf Hess, one of the major Nazi criminals sentenced in 1946 to life imprisonment by the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg. In accordance with the decision of the representatives of Great Britain, France, the USA and the USSR, the Allied prison administration will be permanently terminated. The prison will be demolished.' (Picture Associated Press)

As the Four Powers in their first communiqué declared that the body would be handed over to the family, it was presumed that Hess would be buried here in the family grave at Wunsiedel, north-east of Bayreuth, just a few kilometres from where the border between East and West Germany meets Czechoslovakia. The nearest military air base — Grafenwöhr — lay just 35 kilometres away and it was here that an RAF Hercules landed just before midday on August 20 bearing the body. Meanwhile all Hess's personal possessions in Spandau including his flying suit (or rather Helmut Kaden's) were being destroyed.

Some of the papers reported on the Soviet reaction to the news. The *Telegraph* related that the Tass News Agency issued a short statement that was included in the principal television news. This said that 'Rudolf Hess, one of the main Nazi criminals, died today at the age of 93. 'He was sentenced by the Nuremberg tribunal to life imprisonment, which he served in the West German Spandau Prison.' ADN, the official East German News Agency, gave just five lines to the death.

All the principal British newspapers carried obituaries, and Hess would undoubtedly have been greatly pleased with his name hitting the headlines for that week.

The next day, August 19, the main headlines proclaimed that Hess had killed himself with a piece of flex. A statement had been issued, almost 24 hours after Hess's death, by three of the Allied Powers — Britain, France and the USA; the Russians disapproved of the statement and had not wished it to be issued. The statement said that Hess had attempted to take his own life. He walked in the prison yard and then sat in 'a small cottage in the garden . . . ' with a prison warder (it was the Americans' month for guard duty). His escort left him alone for a few minutes and when he returned 'found Hess with an electrical cord around his neck.' Resuscitation was attempted and he 'was transported to the British Military Hospital' where, after more attempts were made to revive him, 'he was pronounced dead at 1610'. The statement ended with speculation on whether 'this suicide attempt was the actual cause of death', and that this would be investigated 'including a thorough autopsy'. Dr J. Malcolm Cameron from the University of London was flown from the UK to carry out the autopsy.

The *Telegraph* said that Hess had tried on six previous occasions to commit suicide. Another report, this time from Wunsiedel, referred to as Hess's home town, spoke of the preparations being made for the funeral. Small groups of locals were visiting the family grave, described as 'a trim ivy-grown area with three headstones, those of his parents . . . brother and brother-in-law, Erwin Rauch . . . ' Two red candles were alight on the headstones as it grew dark.

This same day, August 19, the British Military Government in Berlin, in another statement, said that ' . . . we are now able to state that a note was found in Hess's pocket'. The note, written in old German script, which was not published and on which Wolf Rüdiger Hess would not comment, was apparently meant to disprove Dr Seidl's claim that it was 'unimaginable' for a 93-year-old man to commit suicide. Dr Seidl was threatening litigation against the four Allies accusing them of negligence.

It was thought that Hess, while taking his daily walk, may have found a piece of flex that had been dropped by some workmen from the firm of Frohberg who had been carrying out electrical repairs that morning. Left alone for a few minutes Hess 'could have slipped it around his neck and pulled it tight'. It had previously been reported that the US warder who should not have left him might face a court-martial, but this was denied in Thursday's papers.

THE FUNERAL

Burgermeister Karl Walter of Wunsiedel 'in the Fichtel Mountains of Upper Franconia in north-east Bavaria', was not worrying about the forthcoming funeral as 'a nine-days wonder', but feared that the grave would become a shrine for neo-Nazis. He explained that Wunsiedel had not been Hess's home and he had no links with the town although he went on to say that in 1933 Hess had been made an honorary citizen, its highest honour. Hess and his family spent summers in their 'mountain retreat' at Reicholdsgrun, 10 miles to the north.

On Thursday, August 20, the body of the former Deputy Reich Führer, which had been protected by a strong guard from the Gloucestershire Regiment, was taken under heavy escort through the West Berlin streets to RAF Gatow where 40 years and thirty days before he had landed to commence his sentence. The body was flown to the US airfield at Grafenwöhr by an RAF Hercules. Waiting there was Wolf Rüdiger and the 'handover . . . was completed by 1200 hours' according to the British Military Government statement. Although there had been no demonstrations in West Berlin the police arrested a young German at Grafenwöhr who was crying out for Hess to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

The papers of Friday, August 21, reported a dramatic turn when Wolf Rüdiger and Dr Seidl declared that they were going to have a second autopsy. This was performed at Munich University by Dr Wolfgang Spann, 'a leading forensic specialist', but although the results were to have been announced shortly afterwards by Wolf Rüdiger, at the time of writing (September 1987) nothing has yet transpired. A cause for the delay may have been that Hess's architect son was suddenly taken into intensive care at the Gross Hadern Hospital in Munich suffering from a stroke, said to have been brought on by the strain and worry of the recent events. He was reported to be partially paralysed. Hess's 50-year-old son had said that he suspected that his father had not killed himself. No strangulation marks had been found on his neck; he declared that he had not seen the suicide note which was reputed to have been found in one of Hess's pockets. Dr Seidl was of the opinion that imprints on the neck indicated 'a strong possibility that Hess was murdered'.

Details of the Hess suicide note were published on this day in the West German *Bild*. The note was addressed to 87-year-old Ilse Hess and read 'Dear Ilse, I am writing these lines shortly before my death . . . Thank you for everything that all of you have done for me and for what you have tried to do'; *Bild* said that the funeral would take place at Wunsiedel on Tuesday (August 25).

Outside Spandau a small altar with candles and flowers had been erected and floral tributes were handed in at the prison. Allied troops in West Germany were placed on alert to prevent possible reprisals. Saturday, August 22, saw about 40 neo-Nazis arrested by German riot police at the Hess family plot in Wunsiedel. The *Sunday Telegraph* reported that the police were surprised by the demonstration at which the Nazi salute was given and 'illegal flags and banners' were waved.

On Monday, August 24, *The Daily Telegraph* referred to Hess's last will dated March 16, 1982, in which he implored 'his family "on no account to allow him to be subjected to intensive care. Nature must be allowed to take its course according to the Will of God", he added'. The paper suggested that he may have taken his own life to stop doctors keeping him alive on a life support machine.

Also on August 24, came an event that prefaced the closing of a chapter, not only in the Hess story, but in the Nuremberg Trials, when the US guard at Spandau was stood down. The prison was handed over to a caretaker detachment from the 1st Battalion, The King's Own Scottish Borderers that was to take charge of it until it was finally demolished.

THE BURIAL

The burial of Rudolf Hess was in keeping with all that had gone before. Unbeknown to the world's Press waiting for the funeral to take place at Wunsiedel on Wednesday, August 26, he was instead buried at a secret location and at a Press conference in Wunsiedel the Burgermeister read out a statement issued by Hess's cousin, Herr Wieland Hess, saying that this had been done to avoid more demonstrations. There was speculation that Hess had been buried on Sunday,

The *Daily Mail* newspaper group has the reputation of being able to make quick on-the-spot decisions and the most controversial picture of all was offered to them first by the agency concerned. A fee running well into five figures was agreed and the *Mail on Sunday* reproduced it on August 23. The paper came in for some criticism but had no regrets in publishing its exclusive scoop. (We were kindly given permission to reproduce their entire front page at no charge.)

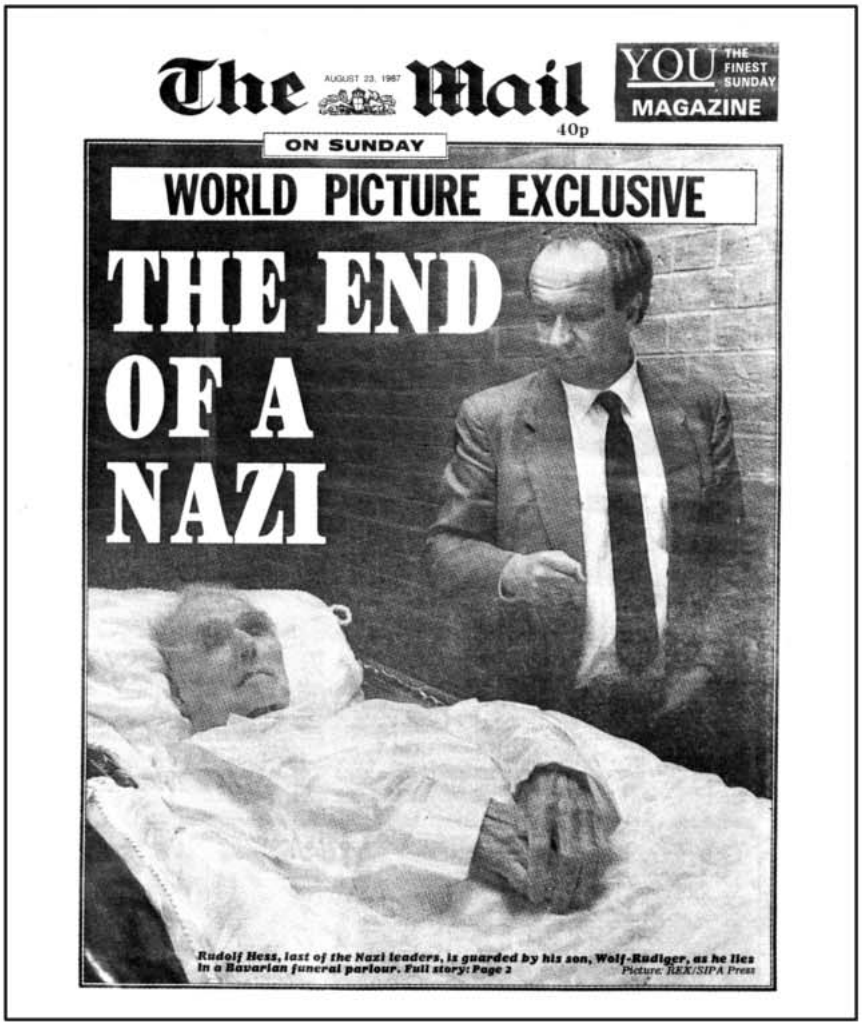
August 24, at 11.00 a.m. in Gräfelfing although Kirchenlaunitz, where there is another family grave, and Reichholdsgrün, a former family home, were other possibilities.

Dr Seidl announced that the body would be exhumed in a few weeks or months and would be reburied at Wunsiedel. Seidl referred to the second autopsy carried out by Dr Spann, who had 'made some fascinating conclusions', but he would not say if they agreed with the British pathologist's findings. He also dismissed the latest British account of Hess's death which was issued on Monday, August 24. An investigation carried out by the Special Investigation Branch of the Royal Military Police, showed that Hess had died from 'asphyxiation'.

EPILOGUE

The Allied Military Government in Berlin have told us that the SIB report will not be released unless the family release it to the Press or if the family give out an inaccurate version of its contents in which case it would be released in full. They also stated that no photographs will be available, either of inside or outside the prison, 'except for those that the Press manage to achieve from the other side of the street'.

The official files on the capture in 1941 have been heavily weeded and those appertaining to Hess's later imprisonment in England are not available for inspection. Thus the final chapter closes — at least for the time being.

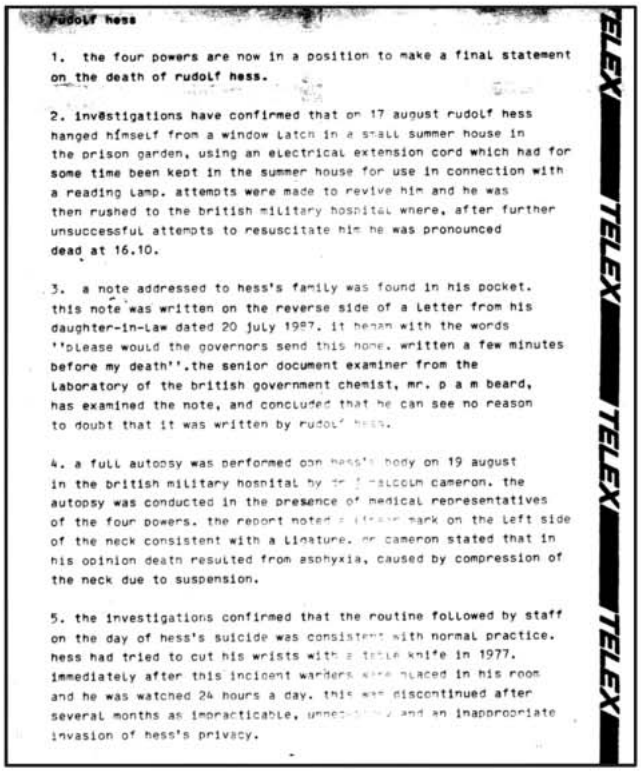


The Mail
AUGUST 23, 1987
40p
YOU THE FINEST SUNDAY MAGAZINE
ON SUNDAY

WORLD PICTURE EXCLUSIVE

THE END OF A NAZI

Rudolf Hess, last of the Nazi leaders, is guarded by his son, Wolf-Rudiger, as he lies in a Bavarian funeral parlour. Full story: Page 2
Picture: REX/SIPA Press



rudolf hess

1. the four powers are now in a position to make a final statement on the death of rudolf hess.

2. investigations have confirmed that on 17 august rudolf hess hanged himself from a window catch in a small summer house in the prison garden, using an electrical extension cord which had for some time been kept in the summer house for use in connection with a reading lamp. attempts were made to revive him and he was then rushed to the british military hospital where, after further unsuccessful attempts to resuscitate him he was pronounced dead at 16.10.

3. a note addressed to hess's family was found in his pocket. this note was written on the reverse side of a letter from his daughter-in-law dated 20 july 1987. it began with the words ''please would the governors send this home. written a few minutes before my death''.the senior document examiner from the laboratory of the british government chemist, mr. d a m beard, has examined the note, and concluded that he can see no reason to doubt that it was written by rudolf hess.

4. a full autopsy was performed on hess's body on 19 august in the british military hospital by dr j malcolm cameron. the autopsy was conducted in the presence of medical representatives of the four powers. the report noted a ligature mark on the left side of the neck consistent with a ligature. dr cameron stated that in his opinion death resulted from asphyxia, caused by compression of the neck due to suspension.

5. the investigations confirmed that the routine followed by staff on the day of hess's suicide was consistent with normal practice. hess had tried to cut his wrists with a table knife in 1977. immediately after this incident warders were placed in his room and he was watched 24 hours a day. this was discontinued after several months as impracticable, unnecessary and an inappropriate invasion of hess's privacy.

TELEX TELEX TELEX TELEX TELEX

die vier-maechte sind nunmehr in der lage, eine abschliessende erklaerung zum tod von rudolf hess abzugeben.

die ermittlungen haben bestaetigt, dass rudolf hess sich am 17. august erhaengte, und zwar mit einem verlaengerungskabel an einem fensterriegel einer laube in gefaengnisgarten. das kabel wurde seit einiger zeit in der laube zur benutzung einer leselampe aufbewahrt. es wurden wiederbelebungsversuche unternommen und hess wurde sodann unverzueglich in das britische militaerkrankenhaus gebracht, wo er nach weiteren wiederbelebungsversuchen, die erfolglos blieben, um 16.10 uhr fuer tot erklaert wurde.

in einer tasche von hess' kleidung wurde ein brief an seine familie gefunden. dieser brief war auf der rueckseite eines schreibens seiner schwiegertochter vom 20. juli 1987 geschrieben. er begann mit den worten: '' bitte an die direktoren, dies heimzuschicken.geschrieben ein paar minuten vor meinem tode.'' der oberste schriftsachverstaendige des laboratoriums des british government chemist, mr. d.a.m. beard, hat den brief untersucht und abschliessend festgestellt, er sehe keinen anhalt fuer zweifel, das der brief von rudolf hess geschrieben wurde.

am 19. august wurde im britischen militaerkrankenhaus von dr. j. malcolm cameron eine genaue obduktion der leiche von hess vorgenommen. die obduktion wurde in anwesenheit von medizinern der vier maechte durchgefuehrt. in dem bericht heisst es, dass eine laengliche strieme an der linken halsseite mit einer ligatur vereinbar ist. dr. cameron erklaerte, dass nach seinzgmeinung ersticken die todesursache ist, bewirkt durch eine kompression des halses durch haengen.
die ermittlungen haben bestaetigt, dass das personal an der tag, an dem hess sich das leben nahm, das uebliche verfahren einhielt. 1977 hatte hess versucht, sich die pulsadern mittels eines tischmessers aufzuschneiden. unmittelbar nach diesem zwischenfall wurden waechter in seinem raum postiert, und er wurde rund um die uhr bewacht. nach einigen monaten stellte man dies als undurchfuehrbar, unnoetig und als ein unangemessenes eindringen in hess' privatsphaere ein.

TELEX TELEX TELEX TELEX TELEX

So the final chapter closes on one of the most dramatic chapters of the Second World War. It must be left to future historians to judge the victors in their treatment of the Führer's deputy who only escaped the gallows in 1946 by one vote.

Passions have run high over the incarceration of a man into his 93rd year, the last twenty of which were in solitary confinement. Much still remains unexplained as, indeed, does his final resting place, as yet undetermined.

N

THEIRS IS THE GLORY

BY WILLIAM B. TRAVIS

The battle for Arnhem and its vital road bridge that spanned the River Rhine is a familiar tale of heroism and courage that has been brought to public attention at various times since the war in written form, via the cinema and on television.

The whole operation — Market Garden as it was code-named — was thoroughly covered by Cornelius Ryan in what was to prove his final book *A Bridge Too Far*, first published in 1974. This No. 1 best-seller was transferred to the big screen by Joseph E. Levine and Sir Richard Attenborough in epic proportions in 1977 — probably the last war film ever to be made in Western Europe on such a lavish scale.

At about the time of the release of the movie *A Bridge Too Far*, the BBC repeated the episode from the television series hosted by General Sir Brian Horrocks that described Operation Market Garden. As the ex-commander of XXX Corps which had fought along the narrow corridor to the Rhine, there was no-one better placed than the warmly enthusiastic Horrocks to describe the complexities of this swiftly planned and executed undertaking. Equipped with maps, blackboard and a splendid gift for oratory he made the whole battle as clear as crystal, whereas the feature film at times appeared confusing, particularly for those unfamiliar with the Arnhem saga.

The Arnhem battle figured chronologically in *The True Glory (After the Battle Videocassette No. 18)* which was the Allies' definitive film account of the war in Europe released in the UK in August 1945. Ironically Sir Richard Attenborough, then in the RAF as a gunner/cameraman, provided commentary posing as a paratrooper en route for Arnhem.

Thames Television's celebrated *World At War* series covered the battle in an episode that also embraced the Battle of the Bulge and the crossing of the Rhine. Recently repeated for the second time on ITV's Channel Four, the programme displayed Horrocks once again. Near the Belgian/Dutch border the Allied armies had been halted on the grounds that they were outrunning their supply train that still stretched back to the Normandy beaches. According to Horrocks: ' . . . this was wrong because we had one hundred kilometres-worth of petrol with our vehicles, and another one hundred kilometres within about 24 hours, and they should have, in my opinion, taken the chance because . . . the only thing between us and the Rhine was one . . . "stomach division" plus one Dutch SS battalion . . . We could have brushed straight through them, gone on, bounced the crossings of the Rhine, cut all the Germans in Holland off, and then gone round behind the Ruhr. . . . We should have taken the risk.' Referring to the calamity that Arnhem became, General Sir Francis de Guingand, Montgomery's Chief of Staff, commented in the same programme: ' . . . I think one's got to be quite honest and say it failed in its object. It achieved partial success, and I always hate using that expression "glorious failure"; I wouldn't call it that, but it was a failure up to a point.'

Opinions about the original operation from individual generals apart, set beside the documentaries *The True Glory*, *World At War* and the feature *A Bridge Too Far*, *Theirs Is The Glory* is proven to be a unique piece of cinema inasmuch as it is an amalgam of actuality and dramatic reconstruction that does not question the viability of the operation in its storyline. Neither does it make any attempt to point a finger of blame at anybody for the débâcle that Arnhem undoubtedly was. Instead the film displays a straight, non-moralising account of the action as fought. There are no 'matinée idols' with pseudo-period haircuts performing mock heroics 'take' after 'take'. Instead there are original survivors from the battle re-creating on the actual battlefield the very events in which their contemporaries were killed, maimed or traumatised by all the ferocity and destruction that is at the disposal of modern arms. Indeed, some of the particpants (Major

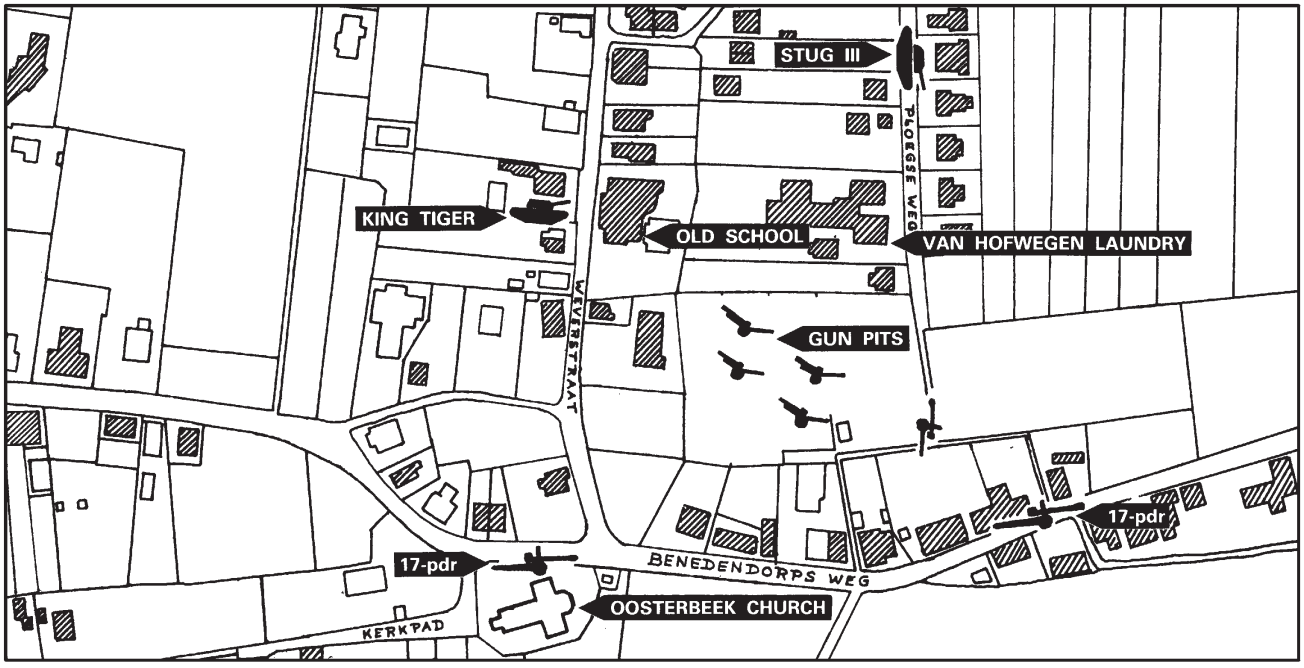
At various times in the past we have presented features on the making of notable war films. We have also occasionally published comparison photographs matching authentic wartime cine footage to illustrate some particular aspect. Now we attempt to do both with the unique Rank film production on the Arnhem operation made in 1946: *Theirs is the Glory*. It is a film we have long admired but one that only rarely sees the light of day. Now the purchase of the video rights by *After the Battle* has enabled us to not only make it available to our readers in the UK and the Netherlands but to carry out a detailed study of how it was made — and where. With the assistance of Adrian Groeneweg, Berry de Reus, Chris van Roekel, Robert Sigmund and Jan Voskuil, our Dutch researcher Karel Margry has achieved some remarkable comparisons . . . like these scenes which appear early in the film depicting the march into Arnhem shot on Middenlaan, Heveadorp.

What is so special with *Theirs is the Glory* is that it was made with real soldiers — all men who had participated in the actual operation, and filmed where it actually happened, just one year later. No actors were used and live ammunition was the norm — hence a realism which sets the film apart from any other post-war production. *Above:* **This is Benedendorpsweg in Oosterbeek.** *Below:* **Outside No. 175 (now 119) part of the railings behind which the Bren fired still survive. That gunner is Private George Price, C Company, 11 Para Battalion, firing from the same spot he had occupied in 1944.**

Gough is an example) were only relatively recently liberated prisoners-of-war. It was in deference to these men that the film omitted all creative and technical credits, choosing to only cite the 1st Airborne Division as a whole as the 'star' of the picture. The screenplay also pays homage to those members of the Dutch population who assisted the British troops during the battle.

The anonymity of the producer and director (and even the musical composer Muir Matheson) was dispelled by the Press when the film was favourably reviewed without exception.

Castleton Knight had been a newsreel producer/director for Gaumont British. In collusion with director Maurice Elvey, a regular associate, he produced *For Freedom*,



One of the major problems facing the director, Brian Desmond Hurst, in recreating the early scenes was that in reality the Oosterbeek area was undamaged when the troops first passed through on Sunday, September 17, 1944. The main battle area for the filming was centred on Benedendorpsweg and Weverstraat. In this map drawn by Chris van Roekel, those buildings shaded were all damaged or destroyed in 1944-45 and demolished after the war to be replaced by new. The symbols depict the positions of the artillery, gun pits and German tanks as they were found at the end of the war.

released in April 1940. It was a reconstruction of the Battle of the River Plate made for Gainsborough Pictures, which as well as actors featured men of the cruisers *Exeter* and *Ajax* in addition to captains from merchant ships sunk by the *Admiral Graf Spee* and prisoners from her supply ship the *Altmark*. The Admiralty fully endorsed and assisted the project but the use of real craft only highlighted the poor model work employed in re-creating the battle.

Brian Desmond Hurst was the director. *Theirs Is The Glory* was not his first war film, and neither was it to be his last. An Irishman, he had gone to Hollywood in 1925, where he learned his craft working as an assistant to the legendary John Ford, returning to the UK nine years later to commence his own directing career. His catalogue of films is broad but his other war films include *The Lion Has Wings* (with co-directors Michael Powell and Adrian Brunel) released in 1939; *Dangerous Moonlight* (1941) featuring Anton Walbrook; and *Malta Story* (1953) featuring Alec Guinness, Jack Hawkins and Anthony Steel.

It was Knight — by now head of Pathé News — who approached Hurst with the proposition of a film about Arnhem. The representatives of the Rank Organisation, who were funding the enterprise, initially suggested a low budget film predominantly made up of stock footage and some brief light-hearted specially shot scenes. They also wanted to feature their then most popular male star. Knight and Hurst resisted this successfully, and the latter dismissed the actor as not knowing one end of a rifle from the other!

Brian Desmond Hurst (in the lounge suit) sets the scene at the beginning of the film with a catalogue of scenes of ruined Arnhem.

Hurst took the novelist Louis Golding to Arnhem to survey the town to get a 'feel' for the project and to gauge for himself the enormity of what had taken place there in the previous September.

St Waldburgis Church.

The road bridge.

The town.

St Elisabeth's Hospital.

Oosterbeek Church.

The Hartenstein Hotel.

The Rank Organisation later made great play in its promotion campaign of the fact that the locations were authentic and that the participants were only re-enacting events that had been verified by official records or eyewitness accounts. In fact the troops were paid £1 for suggested items for the script, and paid £5 for any actually used.

There appears to be little evidence that the airborne troops had any choice in becoming 'film stars'. The men of the 21st Independent Parachute Company were then stationed at Honefoss in Norway (others were in Denmark), having arrived on May 9 and 10, 1945. They had been administering the surrender of the occupying German forces, when orders from the CO dispatched between 100 and 150 of them (these figures vary: Hurst recalls 250 troops), including Frank 'Butch' Dixon (who had proven to be lethal with a Piat and had been the only Piat gunner left alive at the battle's end) by air to the UK to form the Arnhem Film Unit at a mushroom farm of all things near Braintree in Essex before moving to Salisbury Plain. One soldier who was keen to be involved in the film was Private Tommy Scullion; he wanted to see Arnhem for himself — particularly the bridge. As a member of No. 2 Platoon of the 21st IPC, he never reached Arnhem during the battle; his action was confined to the area of Oosterbeek until the evacuation. Geoff van Rijssel with about eleven colleagues had been flown to the UK in a Halifax bomber. He recalls that: 'We were not told about the film until we were back in England. The idea of returning to Arnhem was rather traumatic. I was very curious to have a good look round and meet some of the people — i.e. civilians we had left behind.'

The Film Unit was a composite group made up of paratroops, sappers, gunners and elements from the RAMC, RASC, reconnaissance squadrons and glider battalions. In order for the film to be made Rank had to pay the army £3.0s.0d. per day, per soldier.

'There was nobody who appeared in the film, officer or soldier, who had not fought at Arnhem', Hurst has recounted. 'I selected men very carefully. It was great working with these soldiers because they were accustomed to discipline. The results were superb.'

'Some were auditioned including myself, Holt, Scullion and Frank Dixon', van Rijssel relates. 'Originally, they (Knight and Hurst) had ideas of casting me as a padre of all things. This thankfully I managed to avoid.'

Young battle survivors Peter Holt and Tommy Scullion became very friendly with Hurst during the filming. 'Something to do with the Irish in us,' as Scullion put it. He adds: 'It was the first time that I went around London in a Rolls-Royce . . . meeting actors.'

Van Rijssel remembers the troops crossing the Channel from Dover to Ostend: 'An announcement was made over the radio that the Allies had dropped a "device" on Hiroshima. Of course this dates the crossing quite firmly as August 6, 1945.' On arrival in Holland the men were quartered in a dilapidated Dutch barracks previously occupied by the Germans about a quarter of a mile from the Nijmegen bridge. In addition, houses in the area that remained marginally habitable were employed as billets with the Dutch families looking after the soldiers' needs.

'Paratroopers aren't supermen . . . these for all the deeds they were to accomplish are just ordinary people . . .' Memorable words which set the tone for the whole film.

The setting up of this feature film was unlike any other. Not only were the cast expected to endure relatively indifferent accommodation, they had to clear the location of unexploded material before any filming could commence. The Film Unit had to be totally self-sufficient in its equipment, which included a number of lighting generators. There were no lighting, heating or communications facilities available. To counter the communication problem three interpreters were engaged and a fleet of twenty jeeps were employed as a messenger service because the local telephone system was still out of order.

Arnhem itself was a shambles. The Germans had blown up the railway bridge as C Company of the 2nd Battalion tried to take it on the first day of the battle. The road bridge was bombed by the USAAF in October 1944, finally being blown up by the Germans in February 1945. Also the buildings in the surrounding area were dreadfully damaged, many merely awaiting demolition, particularly those closest to the road bridge. The premise of making the film on the original site therefore was a mixed one for Hurst and his art director. Apart from Allied air raids carried out on selected targets immediately prior to the operation that had caused some damage on the outskirts and in the centre of the town, Arnhem had hitherto been largely untouched. Now, nearly one year later, Hurst's 'set' was an urban ruin dotted with the graves of the cast's comrades and still littered with the perils of scattered live ordnance. He didn't have a bridge either; that still lay in a tangled mess blocking the river. But visual effects would solve that with a painted glass shot. In fact the bridge would only be seen twice in the whole picture. Indeed, when filming commenced, the Graves Registration Unit was already engaged in removing the dead and transferring them to what was to become the Airborne Cemetery at Oosterbeek. Frank Dixon recalled that more graves were found as the film was being shot, and of course the unit was informed accordingly. Hurst wrote: 'In in their limited spare time from making the film, the paratroopers spent hours searching for the graves of their comrades, who had been buried where they fell, so that they could photograph them and send the shots back to the dead men's parents in England.'

On the positive assumption that Market Garden would be a success a considerable amount of newsreel footage had been shot by combat cameramen during the actual operation and the intention from the outset of the

Another of Hurst's problems was the bridge — this is the well known incident where the pillbox is knocked out with a flame-thrower. The shot had to be done looking north-west as the correct view to the south-west would have shown the bridge still lying in the river.

All the officers are genuine although most are not introduced in the film. This is Lieutenant Hugh Ashmore, the real commanding officer of the 3rd Platoon of the 21st Independent Parachute Company, although he plays the platoon commander of 2 Para in the early briefing scene.

Major C. F. H. 'Freddie' Gough, OC of the Reconnaissance Squadron, plays himself and, in a way, is given a part which takes over the real rôle of Frost at the bridge, the officer who plays him merely being referred to in one scene as 'Colonel Johnny'.

picture was to marry this material from Arnhem and the British airfields with the scenes covered by Hurst to compile a film dossier of the 1st Airborne Division's 'finest hour'. The parts played by the American airborne units and the Allied ground units would only be verbally referred to.

The film opens upon a painting of peacetime Arnhem viewed from the south bank and then the camera presents a catalogue of sharp contrasts with ruined churches (the first being St Eusebius and the second being St Walburgis); graves of unknown airborne troops; the mangled road bridge; a slow camera pan reveals the town's desolation from the west side of the ramp; the St Elisabeth Hospital where the Dutch medical and nursing staff tended the British wounded; the ruined church at Oosterbeek where Major Dickie Lonsdale exhorted his men to carry out yet more counter-attacks; the Tafelberg Hotel which became the chief dressing station; and finally, the Hartenstein Hotel, the headquarters of General Urquhart and focal point of the last stand before the evacuation.

The film then takes on all the hallmarks of newsreel documentary, displaying maps of the objectives and library footage of troops being briefed; rows of Horsa gliders; Dakotas lined up nose-to-tail; and troops checking their weapons. The viewer is shown Short Stirling glider-tugs. Two units feature: there is 8Z–G of 295 Squadron and ZO– of 196 Squadron. The massive air fleet is seen crossing the North Sea and entering Dutch air space. Gliders are released and landed while the commentator keeps the viewer informed of events. It is during this phase of the film where the element of dramatic reconstruction is minor. The scene of troops with dialogue boarding a Dakota is included here which was shot at RAF Broadwell.

THE PLAYERS

Theirs Is The Glory was the first post-war service film, so to speak, where the relaxing of wartime censorship allowed the viewer to be privy to the real names of some of the participants. One person who is not identified is the officer conducting a briefing at Brize Norton. He is Lieutenant Hugh Ashmore, OC No. 3 Platoon of the 21st IPC. The viewer is introduced, however, to ten airborne soldiers who are quartered together. They are: Sergeant Jack Bateman of County Down, Ireland; Sergeant John Daley of Waterford, Ireland; Private Peter Holt from Middlesex; Bren gunner Private Tommy Scullion of County Antrim; Private David Parker from Scotland; Private Luker (phonetic) of Dorsetshire; Private George 'Titch' Preston from Grimsby; Corporal Pearce from Wales; Bren gunner Private Geoff van Rijssel from Staffordshire; and Private Reginald Spray from London.

What is evident is that whilst some officers and men played themselves in the film, others using their own name played a dramatic rôle. For example: Tommy Scullion 'dies' of his wounds yet the reality is that Scullion, one of the company's youngest veterans, is an Arnhem survivor. Another aspect is that an anonymous soldier enacts the rôle (but this is left unstated) of Lance-Sergeant John D. Baskeyfield of the South Staffordshire Regiment who was posthumously awarded the Victoria Cross for single-handedly engaging enemy armour with a 6-pdr anti-tank gun after all his crew had been killed or wounded. Also someone had to play the exhausted, wounded 'Colonel Johnny' prior to the surrender at the bridge. The real Lieutenant-Colonel John Frost did not appear in the film.

The first person seen to enact his own part is Major C. F. H. 'Freddie' Gough, whose task had been to race for the bridge with a motorised reconnaissance squadron of jeeps and motorcycles, and to hold it until the main body of the brigade arrived. A complex set of circumstances which included, amongst other things, German ambushes and poor or confused communications denied Gough's own arrival at the bridge until after Frost had taken up position in buildings along the northern end of the ramp. However Gough's rôle in the film appears to be one of seniority at the bridge

Left: **Major Hugh Maguire (left), the GSO 2 (INT), acted not only in the film but off set as the Army's liaison officer with the director. This scene was filmed in the central room on the ground floor of the Hartenstein (*right*), the detail marred only by a silly slip when a close up is shown of the map on which the hotel is spelt 'Hartestein'. This was possibly brought about by the adoption in the film of the Dutch pronounciation which has a silent 'n'.**

One of the real delights of *Theirs is the Glory* is to hear — and see — Stanley Maxted recording his memorable despatches from within the shrinking perimeter: 'A moment ago we heard the engines of heavy aircraft and now flying low to drop their supplies, I can see over the tops of the trees, Stirlings, Halifaxes, Dakotas and now parachutes . . .' Maxted's slow Canadian drawl *is* Arnhem. *Right:* **Appearing also with Maxted is Alan Wood, wartime correspondent with the *Daily Express*, and we hear also his immortal words: 'If in the years to come any man says to you "I fought at Arnhem", take off your hat to him and buy him a drink for his is the stuff of what England's greatness is made'.**

because he sets up brigade HQ in a house on the eastern side of the ramp, and this may well be because Frost did not participate in the production. In fact Frost's name is not mentioned in the picture at all.

Two other characters who re-enact their rôles in the Arnhem battle are war correspondents Alan Wood of the *Daily Express* and Canadian Stanley Maxted from the BBC, who both incidentally appear briefly in the library footage as well. Maxted re-creates his original communiqués, which are an important contribution to the picture's narrative. It is also illuminating in this age of micro-technology to see the bulky acetate disc cutter recorder he uses to file his reports.

THE GERMAN ARMOUR

If anything was a bonus for this film it was the ready availability of enemy tanks, which Hurst used to good effect.

The first example is encountered by 'units of the second lift on Tuesday, September 19' as they march into the town. A French Renault Char de Bataille dating from the 1940 campaign, pressed into German service, armed with a hull-mounted 75mm gun and a flame thrower in the turret, is efficiently dispatched with two Piat bombs.

The next exchange occurs just after Major Gough concedes that the situation at the bridge is untenable. Two Panthers fire upon troops racing for the arches supporting the ramp. The tank positioned in the foreground is static and is is joined by an immaculate Ausf D which drives in from right of frame and opens fire.

The following scene is also of a Panther (and very likely the runner from the previous sequence) shelling a pair of houses. Interestingly, the driver has his armoured plating on the glacis in the raised position and the turret's rear hatch is open, which is a very casual stance to adopt during street fighting!

The biggest choreographed sequence, which unfortunately is all too short in duration, occurs when the troops are gathering within the Hartenstein perimeter and digging in. A probing armoured attack develops led by a Tiger I and this master shot has cutaways of paras reacting. The Tiger is followed by a — or more likely the — Panther; a JgPz 38(t) Hetzer crosses into and out of frame left to right, followed by an armoured car in virtual silhouette, possibly of the eight-wheel SdKfz 234 family. Finally a PzKpfw IV with a short 75mm gun draws up beside the Tiger, although only a portion of this vehicle is revealed. The Panther (still with hatches open) then continues to run amok amid the paras.

Some redress, albeit at considerable cost, is gained in the next sequence which is a loose reconstruction of Baskeyfield's exploits. Two 6-pdr anti-tank guns, each sited on opposite sides of a street, engage a pair of Panthers. One, a static, is knocked out but not before it destroys one 6-pdr. A second Panther, the runner, wrecks the other anti-tank gun and continues unimpeded.

'Chuck that cooking Dixon and go and have a shot at one of those tanks,' orders a frustrated Major Robert 'Boy' Wilson, commander of the 21st IPC. Dixon grabs a Piat and goes out into the street. Crouching down in front of an already 'dead' Panther, Dixon scores a direct hit on another nearby, setting it on fire. Dixon reports back to Wilson triumphant. This sequence is based loosely on fact, but it was not Wilson who ordered Frank Dixon to take the Piat. Actually he knocked out a 'Tiger' at eighty yards range at the Oosterbeek crossroads but other sources have identified the tank as one of a pair of Mk IVs.

On the 'sixth day' a Panther stands immobile as the paras edge their way through the ruins of the town. They then pass the last of the German tanks in the film: the burning hulk of a 'King' Tiger II with a Henschel turret and its muzzle brake missing.

Memories of this collection of enemy armour vary. A tank transporter is recalled, and those that remember the filming state that all the tanks were towed. That may have been so in the case of one of the Panthers or the Char de Bataille. Who drove them? There was an ex-tank driver who according to some dealt with the electrically fired charges that simulated tank gun-fire. He may well have done the bulk of the driving, but he needed four assistants to create the tank attack. Major Levine of the 2nd Parachute Battalion said that airborne troops were sometimes trained so that they could recover enemy vehicles. This may have provided the solution.

The John Baskeyfield VC exploit is re-enacted on Weverstraat (see map page 29) where one of the Panthers is hit outside the old school — still standing when the film was made but demolished later. The real incident took place about a kilometre away on Acacialaan — see *After the Battle* No. 2.

With only two streets to stage the battle sequences, by varying camera angles this is not apparent to the viewer. All these scenes were filmed on Benedendorpsweg and appear within a few seconds of each other, interspersed with original footage: notably the shot-up Kussin car (*see page 46*) and the dressing station at Duitsekampweg 9, Wolfheze.

THE LOCATIONS

Hurst has stated that most of the shooting took place at Arnhem and has referred to only the evacuation sequence being 'cheated' in the UK (however the 'English' church service was shot in Holland). His reasoning was sound enough, as he said: 'I couldn't ask the men to swim across the Rhine because . . . it was still full of typhoid and dead bodies floating down'. As stated above, the airfield and hut scenes were shot at RAF Broadwell (Frank Dixon and Tommy Scullion confirmed a parachute jump was done for the film in the UK), which effectively meant that the bulk of the locations were authentic — at least broadly so. For example, the early penetrations into Arnhem had to show an undamaged urban background. For this a part of Oosterbeek was used and even this was partially damaged. But, ruins or not, permission still had to be sought from the local authority to explode charges or toss grenades about. Scullion, Dixon and van Rijssel all recall that live small arms ammunition was used, which must have been sobering for the film crew but does serve to underline the level of controlled mayhem that Hurst and his 'army' were unleashing upon Arnhem. The non-use of blanks does explain why the Bren gunner defending brigade HQ near the ramp is not actually firing because he is directly facing an attacking force of SS troops being played by Dutch civilians from Oosterbeek! Any gun-fire or explosive effect is courtesy of the dubbing editor.

Visual effects were created by Brocks, the famous manufacturers of fireworks, hired especially for the production. Geoff van Rijssel suggests that they may also have provided the 'gun-fire' for the tanks as well.

Horsa gliders were of course made available on the original landing grounds but the most famous of the locations was the Hartenstein Hotel. Hurst and his liaison officer Major Hugh Maguire went to inspect what had been Major-General Urquhart's HQ: 'We came in from the garden entrance and went through the building from top to bottom, from the attics to the cellars. When we came out of the front door, we saw this enormous sign: DO NOT ENTER THIS BUILDING — HEAVILY MINED. In the end we were able to use the hotel for some scenes but only after it had been searched for mines.'

There is one scene which presumably is shot at the Hartenstein that depicts Major-General Urquhart's radio contact with Major Gough at the bridge. Urquhart did not appear, but he did contribute to the illusion. He made a sound recording of the radio message and this was dubbed over a shot of Major Gough with his back to camera and facing Major Maguire.

The main staircase of the St Elisabeth Hospital was used for a scene illustrating the Dutch medical and nursing staff tending the British wounded.

The Hotel Tafelberg, pressed into service as a dressing station, was once again filled with 'wounded' including Private Holt who, only slightly injured, escapes when the German sentry is thrown down by the blast of a nearby shell. In the same way that the soldiers were original participants, so were the Dutch civilians. For instance, the Roman Catholic priest is the (then) curate R. Dijker who tended the wounded during the battle. Earlier in the picture, before the Tafelberg has fallen into German hands, the viewer sees a Dutch doctor with the priest crouching over a wounded trooper. He is Dr G. H. O. van Maanen. The nurse beyond, who asks him in Dutch if she can give another soldier an injection is Sister G. Schipma. Like the priest they too were at the Tafelberg during the battle.

The film moves to the ruins of Oosterbeek Laag Church, where Major Dickie Lonsdale, suitably dirtied and bloody-bandaged, recreates the rousing speech that he made to the motley collection of troops that became Lonsdale Force. According to Cornelius Ryan, Lonsdale spoke from the pulpit, but in this film he stands beside it. Ryan wrote: 'hundreds . . . were bolstered by the actions of eccentric, undaunted soldiers who seemed uttery fearless and who refused to give in to wounds or hardships. . . . Hobbling about exhorting his men Lonsdale led attack after attack.' According to Sergeant Dudley Pearson: 'He had one arm in a blood-stained sling, an equally bloody wrapping around his head and a giant bandage on one leg!' With the force at the bridge gone, and the Hartenstein's perimeter surrounded by the Germans on three sides, Lonsdale's orders were to keep the fourth side, the river, being the only means of escape or rescue, from being sealed off by further German infiltration.

One of the prominent Dutch participants

Another spectacular scene as the paratroops race for the bridge. Every incident depicted is based on a factual happening in the actual battle. The house on the right called 'De Parre' was demolished after the war; that on the left still remains to be seen on Benedendorpsweg.

Above: **Tuesday, September 19 — the third day — and units of the second lift are fighting their way into Arnhem . . . only unfortunately in reality they are marching the wrong way on Benedendorpsweg! This is the sequence where we see a Char B equipped with a flame-thrower realistically despatched by two Piat bombs.**

Jeeps are then seen racing past Doorwerth Church on Van der Molenplein.

Fearsome use of the flame-thrower as men run across Weverstraat.

Casualties are evacuated to the St Elisabeth Hospital on Utrechtseweg.

to figure in the film was Mrs Kate ter Horst. Her house was situated next to Oosterbeek Church and, as the battle raged, her home was turned into a dressing station and steadily became crammed with British wounded, with operations being performed in the boiler house. When the evacuation got under way there were men in her cellar too badly injured to be moved. Brian Desmond Hurst was keen for her to re-create the moment when, unable to provide any further material assistance, she had entered the cellar and read a psalm to the wounded as a measure of comfort.

The scene in which the German Psychological Warfare truck appeals to the surrounded airborne troops to surrender, amid a host of cat-calls, V-signs, raspberries and ultimately a well-aimed Mills Bomb, has been attributed to Tommy Scullion, who in the screenplay is already 'dead' when the incident occurs. The diary of the 21st IPC, 2nd Platoon, recounts this event as taking place during the evening of September 21. The van approached playing American dance music during a lull in the fighting. The troops' response was much as portrayed in the film, but no doubt more profane, and instead of a grenade foreshortening the pleas to surrender, Scullion fired a Piat and the resultant explosion terminated all transmissions.

There was one unfortunate incident that slightly marred the production. Hurst's First Assistant Director had discovered an apparently damaged, abandoned train. 'If we put about a hundred gallons of petrol in the train, it'll make a wonderful background to your scenes,' urged the eager young man. Hurst agreed, and as soon as the camera turned over on September 13 the train indeed erupted in a spectacular pall of flame. Regrettably, permission to blow up the train had not been sought in advance in the same manner that had been adopted when buildings were required to be damaged or destroyed for the film. Worse still, the only remaining functioning diesel engine in the

Some filming obviously had to take place around the bridge but all the angles were carefully chosen to avoid showing it blown. Where it had to be shown complete a painted view on glass was used. Here a Panther enters right beside the northern bridge ramp. This was filmed looking south-west; it actually fires in the direction of the river.

A moving moment when the wounded Major R. T. H. Lonsdale, 2 i/c 11 Para Battalion, gives a rousing address to men gathered in Oosterbeek Church. One year earlier he had rallied Lonsdale Force with the same words in the same church . . . only then he spoke from the pulpit. The church was badly damaged and after reconstruction the original stalls and pulpit were removed.

whole of Holland had been destroyed in the explosion. Consequently, the Netherlands Railway Company sued the Rank Organisation for £100,000. Agreement upon damages was not settled until February 1951, and the actual amount paid was not disclosed. Suffice to say, the sequence was cut from the final film.

The evacuation from the perimeter over the Rhine was, as stated above, shot in England. According to Hurst, gravel pits (Frank Dixon said a quarry) at Wraysbury, near London, were used. Robert Christie maintains the Thames near Datchett was the location and van Rijssel said a flooded quarry at Datchett was used. The explosions for the sequence were set up by the Royal Engineers whilst the Pioneer Corps furnished the lighting. Live ammunition supplied the tracer fire and also the rounds that smacked into the water. Again authenticity was provided in the form of Canadian troops who operated the assault boats picking up the airborne troops. Hurst's instructions to the Sappers were explicit. While the men were 'swimming the Rhine' no explosions were to be let off any closer than thirty yards away. A Canadian Sergeant proposed that one of the boats being blown up would look good and this appealed to Hurst's sense of drama, whilst at the same time dispelling his sense of caution. He wrote: 'The men were swimming across the gravel pits . . . quite a few of them naked . . . and to my horror there was an explosion in the middle of them. I clutched the continuity girl to me, burying my head in her breasts, and said: "I'm not coming up until you tell me there are no casualties." Thankfully there were none.' The sequence was shot in November, or December, 1945 'and damned cold it was too', commented van Rijssel: 'We got £5 for that.' This was the established rate that any of the soldiers got for performing such tasks considered to be out of the ordinary.

The unit was in Arnhem for about three months before coming to the UK and Pinewood studios where some of the cast spent another three months re-recording dialogue. This explains why the 'lip-sync' is a little adrift in places. It is a skilful, acquired technique to perfectly match newly recorded speech to film. Incidentally, while they were there van Rijssel and about six others appeared as extras at Denham studios for crowd scenes in the picture *A Matter Of Life and Death* that featured David Niven.

LIBRARY FOOTAGE

There is obviously a considerable amount of actual combat footage within this film and Hurst and his editor have cut between the original and re-created material with ease and conviction. Apart from the dialogue sequences which are obviously non-original, the best way to establish *exactly* what is Arnhem material is to compare *Theirs Is The*

As the perimeter shrinks around Oosterbeek the Hartenstein becomes a focal point. Today the harsh outlines of a battlefield fought over twice — in 1944 and 1945 — have mellowed with the passing years.

The Tafelberg Hotel was by now in German hands.

Glory with the appropriate section of *The True Glory* or *World At War*; particularly the former as it was released *before* Hurst's film.

One piece of footage that stands out is that of the corpse of Major General Kussin, the Arnhem town commander, hanging out of his bullet-riddled car at the Wolfheze crossroads on September 18.

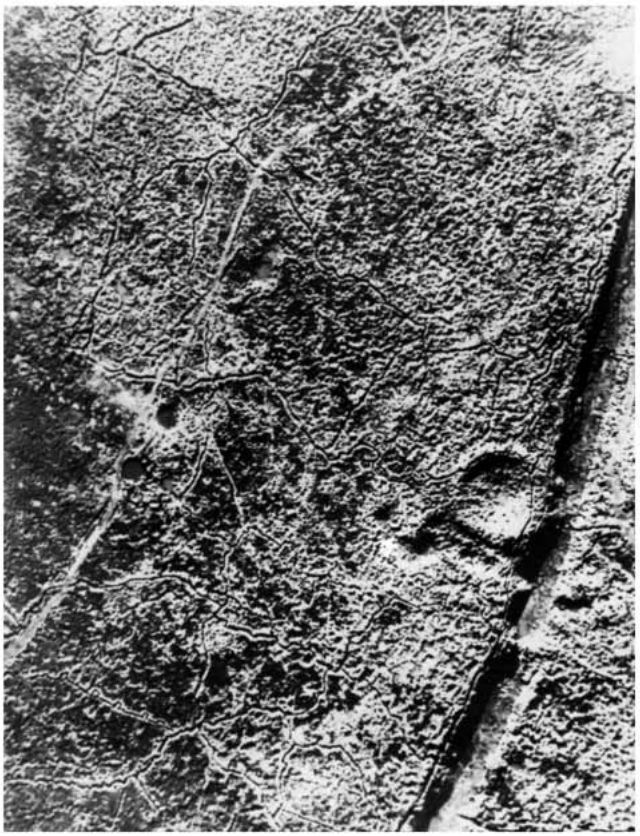
What is also apparent is the coverage of the event by stills and cine cameramen. Kussin's body is an example as is the prone Bren gunner lying near a railway line. He appeers in this film and in a still reproduced in *After the Battle No. 17*.

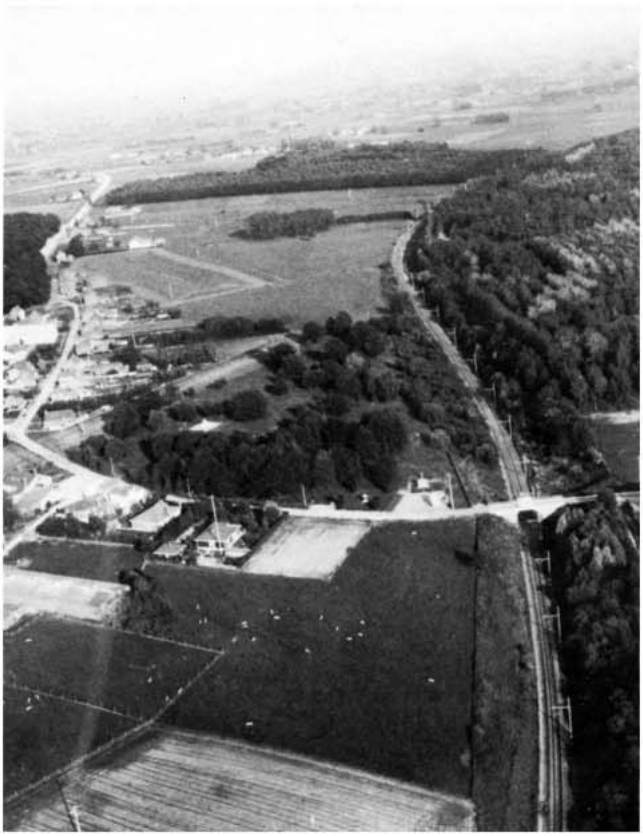
CONCLUSION

The picture had a simultaneous première in Ottawa, Arnhem and the Gaumont in the Haymarket London on September 17, 1946, the second anniversary of the start of the Arnhem battle. The Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, and other members of the Government attended, whilst His Majesty King George VI had a Command Performance at Balmoral.

The film's end is a poignant one, and perhaps meant to be symbolic. The picture returns to the hut where the viewer was first introduced to the ten airborne soldiers at the outset of the operation. There are still the same ten beds, but now there are only two men — Bateman and Holt — both deeply preoccupied with their own thoughts. The question is: do Bateman and Holt represent the two thousand troops who got back safely, and do the eight empty beds with the mattresses rolled up symbolise the eight thousand who didn't? The author asked Tommy Scullion if he was ever told why the film was to be made. He replied simply: 'So that people could see how we lost so many men in nine days.'

Members of the Arnhem Film Unit at the ceremony of dedication of the cemetery at Oosterbeek on September 25, 1945. (IWM) Exactly one year before it had been the ninth day; now the survivors return to pay their respects to those they left behind: Theirs *is* the Glory.





The carnage wrought on Hill 60 near Ypres in Belgium with the striking contrast of the mellowed fields of Flanders seventy years later.

From the Editor . . .

Over the years, many readers have written to me drawing my attention to the publication of the mid-1930s *Twenty Years After* which also used the medium of then and now photographs, mostly taken by Mr A. J. Insall of the Imperial War Museum, to tell the story of the Great War. This year my mind went back to that awful conflict when I had cause to fly over that area of Belgium called Passchendaele — a word which even now conjures up thoughts of endless miles of desolate water-filled shell-holes — a hell on earth if there ever was one. The purpose of my flight was to take a picture for the cover of John Giles' book *Flanders Then and Now* yet, even with those old pictures in my mind's eye, the peaceful farmland on a glorious summer's evening seemed a millenium away from those days. Apart from odd craters retained as ponds there was nothing to distinguish this area from any other except for the neat cemeteries with their rows of tiny white markers. Some lay near to villages, possibly close to an old dressing station or collecting area, while others lay amid the green and brown fields, on the actual battlefield itself.

After twenty minutes we had reached Hill 60 alongside the Ypres railway line — a prominent landmark then as now. Originally it had been created by the spoil extracted from the railway cutting but four years of shelling and mining reduced its contours, and trees and vegetation have since softened its outlines. As I looked down from a few hundred feet it was difficult to believe that this same spot was once a maelstrom of torn steel from countless explosions, the focal point of 'Second Wipers' as the battle of April–June 1915 was called with its introduction of poison gas for the first time. Here four Victoria Crosses were won under fire on April 20/21 . . . now that name in gold on my old school Roll of Honour meant something more to me: 'Second Lieutenant B. H. Geary, VC'.

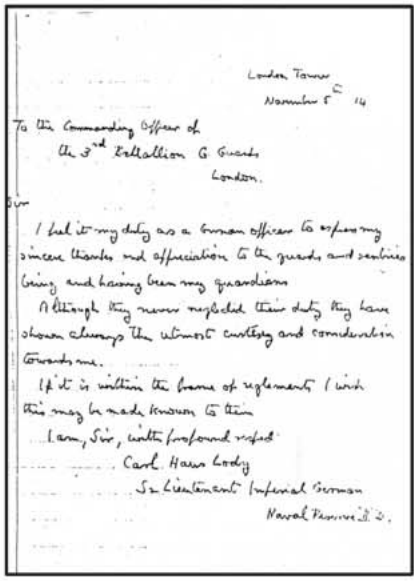
In the first issue of *Twenty Years After*, produced under the guidance of its illustrious Editor, Major-General Sir Ernest Swinton, it was recalled that: 'New war clouds are gathering over Europe. Everyone talks fearfully of "the next war". The nations are rearming on a tremendous scale and marshalling their forces in preparation for another cataclysm which statesmen declare calmly to be "inevitable".' Now, 50 years after those words were written, we approach the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War and I feel it would be fitting for *After the Battle* to record the momentous events of that period. We are therefore beginning a new regular feature '50 years ago' introduced in this issue by a 'catching up' exercise to set the scene and tell the story up to November 1937.

While on the subject of the First World War, Yeoman Warder Brian A. Harrison at the Tower of London wrote to tell us about his extensive research into the German spies held and executed at the Tower (issue 11). Regarding the execution of Carl Lody in November 1914, Brian brought our attention to three letters written by Lody on the eve of his execution and how his researches indicated that only two of them *were* in fact the genuine article.

'Among the letters and documents in the old Tower file at the Public Records Office, I found a page which had obviously been torn from an exercise book. In reading it through, I had no reason to doubt this as being the final pencilled letter Lody had written from his cell on the eve of execution. It will be seen to be clearly headed "London Tower" (sic), dated 5th November 1914 and carries what appears to be Carl Lody's signature block. In simple terms, he requested the C.O. of 3 Grenadier Guards to thank the men who had guarded and cared for him in captivity. I must draw special attention to the use of the word "reglements" (French for "regulations") in the third paragraph of this letter. In finding such a letter in such a reputable storehouse, I never questioned its authenticity but made a note of its content and fed it all in to my alphabetical information index on prisoners.

'You might well imagine my surprise when, as recently as November 1986, a Mr Hooson visited the Yeoman Gaoler at the

Carl Lody's place in history as the first man to meet his death within the grim walls of the Tower of London for more than a hundred years is assured. In his home town of Lübeck on the Baltic his memorial has also been recently refurbished. (Compare with illustration in *After the Battle* No. 11.)

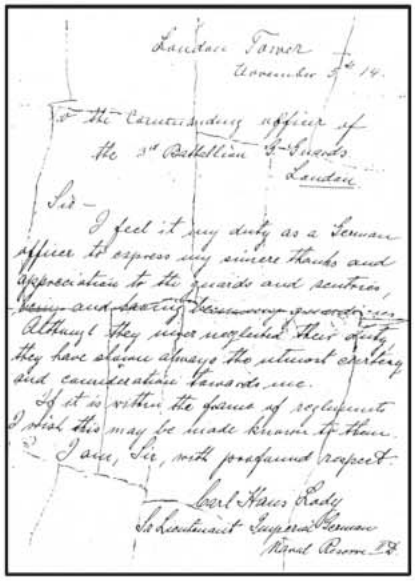


London Tower
November 5th 14

To the Commanding Officer of
the 3rd Battalion G Guards
London.

Sir

I feel it my duty as a German officer to express my sincere thanks and appreciation to the guards and sentries being and having been my guardians
Although they never neglected their duty they have shown always the utmost courtesy and consideration towards me.
If it is within the frame of reglements I wish this may be made known to them
I am, Sir, with profound respect
Carl Hans Lody
Sub Lieutenant Imperial German
Naval Reserve



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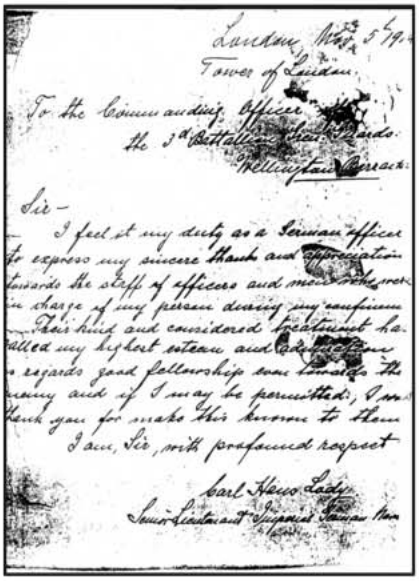


London, W.
Tower of London.

To the Commanding Officer
the 3rd Battalion G Guards
Wellington Barracks

Sir –

I feel it my duty as a German officer to express my sincere thanks and appreciation towards the staff of officers and men who were in charge of my person during my confinement. Their kind and considerate treatment has called my highest esteem and [illegible] regards good fellowship even towards the enemy and if I may be permitted I [illegible] thank you for make this known to them
I am, Sir, with profound respect
Carl Hans Lody
Senior Lieutenant Imperial German Navy

The story of three letters. *Left:* **The example in file WO 94/103 at the Public Record Office.** *Centre:* **Reassembled fragments found in Lody's cell, now in the Guards' Museum.** *Right:* **Mr Hooson's genuine article.**

Tower asking more about Carl Lody because he (Mr Hooson) claimed to possess the last letter Lody had ever written and which had been bought from an antique stall 'over 20 years ago'. Knowing of my interest in the case, the Gaoler invited Mr Hooson to contact me about his Lody letter. With my pre-recorded knowledge of the Kew letter, I was at first sceptical and then somewhat suspicious of Mr Hooson's purchase, feeling it must be a forgery of that held on file at Kew. But the wording was so different; there were a number of marked similarities but certain grammatical errors had been corrected. "Tower of London" instead of "London Tower", the strange word "reglements" had gone but more importantly, the handwriting style was so different. I was soon to be proved not only wrong in my assessment of the Hooson letter but even more astonished to learn of a THIRD letter carrying Lody's signature!

'By following Mr Hooson's lead to the Guards Museum at Wellington Barracks, I learned from the assistant curator of the torn fragments of a letter "found on the floor of Lody's prison on the morning of his execution". The torn fragments had been carefully reassembled and pasted onto a board which was still at the Museum and had often been displayed to visitors.

'This third letter will be seen to be worded exactly the same as the PRO letter even down to the use of "reglements" yet the handwriting style is precisely the same as the Hooson letter. The evidence, as it now appears, would seem to suggest that the Guards letter was his first attempt but, in consulting one of his "minders", attention was drawn to his spelling errors ("Espress" to be corrected to "express", deletion of "reglements", etc) and grammar ("London Tower") so he hastily tore this up, allowing the fragments to fall to the floor, and started to write the Hooson letter which must be the copy which was sent to the Commanding Officer, 3rd Grenadiers. This theory is supported by a chapter in *The Story of Twenty Five Years* in which the author quotes the exact wording as appearing in the Hooson letter. It must be noticed that the handwriting in letters 2 and 3 is precisely the same style. But how can the letter at Kew, in another entirely different hand, be explained? I can only surmise that the finder of the fragments, in tidying up the cell, drew the attention of a guard NCO who must have decided to make a fair copy to send across to Tower Headquarters for their archives. One can almost imagine him reaching across the Guard Commander's table for any convenient exercise book from which to tear a sheet to record his find. Being a punctilious NCO, he was careful to the point of using the exact spelling forms found on the fragments, even down to the poor spelling of 'espress'.

'I like to imagine the Commanding Officer's copy, suitably framed, hanging in some pride of place in his office for a number of years. Subsequent postings, active service in the Second World War and the later disbandment of the battalion — any one or all factors combined — led to the framed letter being mislaid, forgotten, stolen or lost until the 1960s when it turned up on the antique market to be bought by Mr Hooson.'

Eddie Slovik goes home — a volte-face by the US Army led to his remains being repatriated from the dishonoured plot in France; in 1949 deemed to be his final resting place. It took Bernard Calka (*right*) seven years to achieve his aim; he has now said that his next step is to pursue a Presidential pardon for Slovik. (Detroit Free Press by Daymon J. Hartley)

In issue 32 published in 1981 we included a detailed account of the execution of the American serviceman Private Eddie Slovik for desertion. Subsequent to his burial in the 'dishonoured' plot at the US Cemetery at Oise-Aisne in France in 1949, the American authorities have received several requests over the years from his family for the remains to be returned to the States. After his widow died in 1979, the campaign was continued by a Macomb County (north of Detroit) commissioner, Bernard Calka.

Although the official position of the US Army was that the burial was considered final, in June 1987 I received a tip-off from the States that the US Government were about to accede to the request provided the disinterring was carried out at private expense.

As a Polish-American Army veteran, Calka felt a certain kinship to Slovik and he paid the $3,500 to cover the cost and on Saturday, July 11 Slovik was reburied (for the fifth time) beside his wife's grave in Detroit's Woodmere Cemetery, but not before he went AWOL again for 21 hours when TWA mis-routed the casket to San Francisco!

Mr T. W. Clark wrote from Camberley, Surrey, to send me an update on the military-controlled tunnels at Gibraltar (issue 21), parts of which can be visited via the Caleta Palace Hotel. This picture shows the Brigade HQ Nissan hut, since nicely refurbished from the mouldering state we found it in 1977.

Do you remember the embarrassment caused over our recovery of the so-called 'Sikorski' propeller (issue 24)? When it was sent to Farnborough for examination it had its nose cut off to inspect the gearing; Len Tyler of Manor Park, London, sent me a picture (*left*) of it on its return to the Rock, now erected at the entrance to Eastern Beach on Devils Tower Road.

Snippets of information reach us from around the world and I am grateful to all those readers who send me press cuttings and photographs they have taken on their own battlefield visits. I apologise for not having space to include all the material received but representative samples are reproduced here. Letters from those who experienced events described form a significant part of the mail we receive. Brian Brazier wrote from Evesham, Worcestershire, to say that 'I was a member of the 46th RTR. The centre photo caption on page 25 of issue 52 on Anzio states that some Panzers actually reached the bridge (flyover), ringing a tank which I am sure was an American M10 probably taken after the battle ended. A troop of our 'A' Squadron used to take it in turns to sit each night only 30-40 yards to the left of that tank, keeping watch. That particular night, the German offensive of February 16, I was actually there and our three tanks became bogged down in the mud and we had to abandon them and walk back to HQ. The tank on the right of the photograph was driven by a pal of mine, "Dingy" Bill, and was there, as stated, the whole four months of the beachhead.'

Mr R. A. Sewell de Gency of Didcot, Oxfordshire, wrote after reading issue 45 on Operation Freshman:

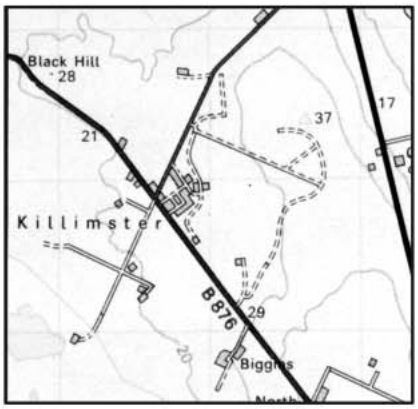
'Your excellent publication gives a first rate account of the above mentioned operation — I have visited my brother's grave in the village church cemetery at Helleland and have also met Major Haugland, many years ago, in Oslo.

'You mention, on page 1, that they took off from Skitten airfield, a satellite of Wick.

Left: **In his trips around the Pacific, George Black of Crystal Lake, Illinois, visited Hawaii in 1986 and found that the hangar behind the seaplane ramp on Ford Island on page 43 of issue 38 has since been demolished.** *Right:* **On the south-west corner of Oahu he found a series of bunkers alongside Barbers Point Naval Air Station commissioned in 1942 (adjacent to the now-overgrown pre-WWII Ewa Beach Air Station). The concrete anchor in the foreground has the date 'Feb-1942' confirming George's suspicions that these defences were hastily constructed after the Pearl Harbor attack.**

Some interesting pictures came from Mr W. A. Keay of Swanage, Dorset, following his trip to Crete in 1986. (We published issue 47 the previous year.) *Left:* **The final evacuation took place from Sphakia where this monument stands to record the departure of the Australians and New Zealanders. (It is said that the British are not mentioned on the monument because they did not contribute to it!)** *Centre:* **The ghostly outline of a sunken landing craft which lies just off the rocks in the most easterly of the three inlets.** *Right:* **Grisly memorial to local people shot by the Germans.**

Could you please let me know where Skitten was (approx, if the field has been returned to farming). I was there only two weeks ago — and could not find it. Wick airfield is, of course, now a civil one — I noted that there was an excellent runway running east/west — which runs right across the road from Wick to Noss Head.



Overgrown runways, demolished hangars, with few of the original buildings remaining: Skitten today, by the bleak B876, three miles north-west of Wick. No monument or memorial here to the crews of Operation Freshman (issue 45).

'At the time of the operation, there was a great deal of misgivings as to the time of the year and its suitability. It appeared doomed from the start.

'You may be interested to know (coincidence is a strange, sometimes, fateful event) that in 1946, I was in Singapore waiting for someone to replace me so that I could return to be demobbed. (I was in the Indian Army, Royal Artillery). Eventually, he made his appearance — a Captain, R.A. — and during our discussions there was the inevitable "Where have you just come from?" — The answer came back: "Oh, I was on a special detachment to find out what had happened to a special operation in Norway". As you can imagine, I was very interested with what he had to say — and when I gave him MY details, he was quite taken aback.'

Leslie M. Smith of Hawkinge, Kent, wrote with reference to the death of Air Chief Marshal Leigh-Mallory (issue 39):

'I feel I must comment on the article in which the author states, quote "That the Navigator lost his way seems to be a fairly safe assumption . . .".

'This appears to be a slur on F/Lt Keith Mooring's ability, bearing in mind he had been regularly flying Sunderland aircraft from Pembroke Dock far out into the Atlantic etc, plus the fact he was specially selected for appointment as the Air Chief Marshal's personal navigator.

'I was priveleged to be Keith Mooring's best friend, and as an ex navigator myself, I find it very difficult to believe he was 250 miles off track without good reason. Given the appalling conditions that were encountered on the fateful day, I could myself perhaps assume an error of up to 25 miles either side of the track, but not 250 miles. Keith Mooring was an excellent navigator and therefore I cannot accept that he was just lost.

'May I suggest the following points may have some bearing.

1. In view of the large discrepancy in the set flight path and the crash position, would there be a possibility that ACM Leigh-Mallory had instructed/suggested to the Captain that they should change their original course?.
2. With a routine flight (without VIP's), I feel sure the Pilot and Navigator would have conferred about the very severe conditions prevailing, ie. icing, cloud base and depth, overweight of aircraft etc., and would almost certainly have decided to return to base.

'I have no wish to cause any anguish or distress to anyone concerned, (especially after a gap of over 40 years), but I do feel very strongly that the name of F/Lt Keith Mooring should be cleared of any suggestion of professional incompetence.'

Mr W. E. D. Holt of Godalming, Surrey, contacted us on the same subject.

'I refer to issues Nos. 39 and 50 concerning the death of Air Chief Marshal Sir Trafford Leigh-Mallory. Publication No. 50 contains a statement by a Mrs. G. E. Baker, sister of Flight Lieutenant Keith Mooring, which is without witness. I commend you for its publication.

'Mrs. Baker states she had no witnesses to her brother's statement. This is without doubt true. However, shortly after the known crash, Mrs. Baker related his words to his wife, Mrs. E. Mooring of Hersham, Surrey.

'Mr. and Mrs. K. and E. Mooring were very personal friends of mine and Mrs. E. Mooring told me the story in the identical words of the article by Mrs. G. E. Baker. Being within the Official Secrets Act, I have carried those words throughout all these years.

'May my official communication to you be added to Mrs. G. E. Baker's, with the hope that mine together with hers, will be added to the Air Ministry records.'

Mr R. Brown of St Anne's on Sea, Lancashire, sent me a photograph of a heart-shaped medallion with the following background history. 'One article of interest to me concerned the death of the Duke of Kent (issue 37). An ex-RAF friend (since deceased) was a colleague of one of those RAF airmen who visited the crash site at the time and he gave my friend a piece of perspex

from the wreck. This he cut into a heart and mounted an RAF button in the centre to give to his wife as a present. After her death he gave it to me and reading your article really filled in all the details for me.'

Many readers tell me of battlefield relics they have recovered, like Bill Grundy of Ashton in Makerfield, who found this nice 37mm anti-tank ammunition case overlooking 'the Saucer' on Crete. The island is a disappointment to would-be souvenir hunters; not so Belgium, from where Peter van Pelt of Brasschaat sent me an illustration of his discoveries in the forests surrounding Bastogne.

Mrs K. Macleod wrote to us from the Isle of Skye.

'I have been much interested reading your magazine No. 44 ('The Other D-Days'). This described familiar events, as I served in the W.R.N.S. in Dartmouth 1943-44, and I have learnt some new sidelights on the happenings of those days!

'There is one small item that perhaps deserves comment — referring to the German naval log quoted on p. 25, about the "swimming sailors captured". I do not think General Montgomery would have been unduly worried about the security angle because survivor prisoners would not have known the Overlord plans.

'I speak with a slight knowledge of this as I was then Assistant Confidential Books Officer, Dartmouth. Part of my job was to issue the Overlord orders to the ships, motor/torpedo boats and assault craft there assembled. I had no idea what the bulky, sealed envelopes contained (they were all delivered by "hand of officer"), neither had the commanding officers, who opened them on sailing. In the port of Dartmouth only two officers knew in advance about Omaha and Utah — my superior, the C.B. Officer, and the Naval Officer in Charge. Everyone else was completely in the dark. It was a well-kept secret.

'45 years on, those who remember are growing thin on the ground, so I send you this "for the record".'

Charles Leonard, our veteran First Marine Division author on Okinawa, wrote to us with the news that he had since been back to the battlefield twice to attend anniversary celebrations and to seek out more of the locations of events from his own part in one of the worst battles of WWII.

'A lot of water has gone over the dam since you published my account in Number 43' writes Charles. 'I thought you might be interested in what the past three years have brought.

'First of all, my wife and I returned with a group of Marine combat veterans for the 40th anniversary of the battle in 1985 — needless to say Donna and I were very excited when we located both the cave from which the Japanese soldier attacked me and the steep trail to the top of Hill 69 which I had used in 1945 and from which I had been blasted on the morning of June 12. But, despite my efforts, I was unable to climb to the top of the hill in 1985.

'In June 1987 we returned again for the purpose of dedicating a memorial plaque to the members of the First Marine Division who had died during the battle (the First suffered more than 9,000 killed and wounded). Also, 65 members of the Sixth Marine Division were in the group of returnees and they (with me) were to take part in the dedication of a 25-foot granite memorial which honoured all (Japanese, Okinawans and Americans) who died in the battle. It was a very impressive ceremony and I met several Japanese soldiers who survived, including a member of the 24th Division who had lost his left hand and forearm near Hill 69 whilst in action against the First Marine Division.

'On Saturday, June 13, I rented a car and travelled to Hill 69. There were many signs warning that it was Habu snake season, so we carefully walked through the high grass and shrubbery until I once more stood at the foot of the steep trail. It was a stiflingly hot day, but I was determined to climb to the top — I have developed high blood pressure and my doctor has warned me not to overdo things but nothing would stand in my way! I started up and it took everything I had in me — by the time I made it, I was so exhausted I couldn't move — I had chest pains and was sick to my stomach. I lay in a heap for about ten minutes and became even more sick. Donna was standing at the foot of the cliff and couldn't see me; I finally managed to yell to her to get out her translation book and try to tell some Japanese working on the road to call an ambulance. While she was consulting the book I became worse and the thought struck me that almost 42 years later to the

First Lieutenant Larry S. Tabor of the United States Air Force wrote to tell us of items that he had recovered from the Ardennes area, now on display at his old air base at Florennes (*left*). Having returned to the States he intends to set up another museum at the Central Missouri State University which will include items from American personalities who served in WWII. 'I got the idea from an article you did on the gentleman who collected famous British generals' items', wrote Larry. The 'gentleman' was Gerald Ewing (in issue No. 3), since retired from the prison service. In those early issues of *After the Battle* it was my intention to cover all the various museums and collections associated with WWII. Alas they have multiplied so rapidly over the past ten years that one would need to devote the whole of every issue to the subject. So much has changed — even the old Sherman I found abandoned beside the Meuse (see cover of issue No. 32) was tarted up for the 40th anniversary of the end of the war. Larry photographed it just two kilometres from his doorstep!

Our intrepid US marine (issue No. 43) returned to Okinawa in June 1985 and was excited to pinpoint the cave on Hill 69 from which the Japanese soldier had charged at him exactly 40 years before, which he had been unable to find on his first visit. He also wanted to climb to the top up the steep cliff trail: 'In 1945 as an 18-year-old I fought all day to capture this hill and easily climbed to the top,' writes Charles. 'Forty years after the battle I tried and tried but pooped out!'

day (June 12 and June 13) I was back on top of Hill 69 at the exact spot where I had almost died and now I was about to have a heart attack and die. The irony made me grin a bit despite my pain and nausea, but shortly thereafter I began to recover and I shouted down to Donna not to call an ambulance — that I was feeling better and was going to try and locate the coral rocks I had piled up for shelter and the trench that our machine-gunners had used. It was obvious to me that this part of Hill 69 had not been touched since the war — it was heavily overgrown — vines and thorny bushes covered everything and the sun was virtually blotted out. It was very difficult to move. The vines hung everywhere and I was constantly getting entangled but I found the remains of my 'upright' foxhole and I found the trench — it had a lot of jungle debris in it but it was recognizable.

'Unfortunately, by that time I had become very dizzy and I had lost my bearings. I shouted for Donna but she couldn't hear me. (By then she had become desperate — she

Instead he left this home-made marker on the spot where 'I lost two good friends: Wayne Lyons (missing) and Bruce Mitchell shot through the head'.

In June 1987 Charles Leonard returned again for the dedication of the First Marine Division Memorial. *Left:* **Brigadier General Hank Stackpole III, Assistant Commander of all US forces on the island, greets Dr Gordon Warner, ex-Marine who served at Cape Gloucester, lost a leg and was awarded the Navy Cross.**

Right: **Charles with his wife Donna in the arms of Major General James L. Day who fought as a corporal on Sugar Loaf and was the last WWII marine still on active duty when he retired in 1986. This picture was taken shortly before Charles nearly killed himself visiting Hill 69 again.**

was convinced that I was lying up there dead.) I tried to find my way back to the cliff edge but I couldn't, so I headed north, knowing that eventually I would come to the gentle slope (shown on page 50 of issue 43) where the hill narrows and slopes down to the road (page 51). Sure enough by heading north I eventually reached the end of the hill and turned south on the road that headed back about 200 yards to where Donna still crouched at the base of the cliff.

'I was a mess — covered with bruises and deep scratches — my clothes were torn and I was exhausted; but I had finally completed my mission and will probably never again return to Okinawa.'

Following the underwater survey of the *Arizona* described in issue 45, another team of divers from the National Park Service and Naval Reserve Mobile Diving Salvage Unit One from Long Beach, California, investigated the sunken wreck of the *Utah*, part of the Pearl Harbor National Historic Landmark, in the summer of 1986. The intention was to establish the amount of fouling growth on her hull and rate of corrosion. Further dives in the programme are to include the mooring keys for the battleships damaged in the attack and suspected locations of Japanese aircraft crashes. Meanwhile the Coastguard cutter *Taney*, the last serving vessel present during the attack (see issue 50), has since been retired to become a floating museum at Baltimore.

Early in 1986 I received a report from the Netherlands that the crash site of Wing Commander Guy Gibson's Mosquito was being investigated (again!). Many readers have visited the spot at Steenbergen over the years and one would have thought that the area had been picked clean. I contacted the Dutch Ministry of Defence and on January 29 Colonel A. P. de Jong who has helped us on numerous occasions gave us the full story:

'I can indeed confirm that the RNLAF Recovery Service carried out a survey and some digging at the location where Gibson's Mosquito crashed on the night of September 19/20, 1944. The harvest of the operation was rather limited, in fact less than was anticipated if we take into account that the digging went as deep as 3 metres in the thick clay. The survey was necessary because of a housebuilding project in the area, which so far was just grassland. The recovery took place on December 11/12, 1985 and was assisted by the Explosives Demolition Unit of the RNLAF.

'Inventory of the small harvest was as follows: — small pieces of wood construction covered with painted fabric; some pieces of aircraft skin; rubber parts of the fuel tank, still smelling of aircraft fuel; major part of one of the main wheels; part of the tail fin (wooden) including the letters KB of the serial number (KB267); some disintegrated parts of one of the engines and a flare. That is all that was found. Apparently the aircraft exploded on impact, the greater part of the remains burned out, and the majority of the wreck was removed shortly after the crash.

'Steenbergen Municipality has asked for some recognisable part of this wreck on behalf of a Gibson Memorial to be placed in this small town. This however had to be nothing more than the piece of tail fin, carrying the letters KB. Anyhow, this relic will get a decent place in Steenbergen, in honour of Wing Commander Gibson and Squadron Leader Warwick, an RAF aircrew who are almost as well known in the Netherlands as they are in their home country.

'After the Mosquito operation, the Recovery Unit salvaged a Messerschmitt Bf 109G4, which was found in the river Waal near Dodewaard, some eight miles west of Nijmegen. This Messerschmitt was shot down by a B-17 Fortress on the morning of June 22, 1943 at 10.00 hrs, when returning from a raid on the synthetic rubber factories of Hüls near Duisburg. In hectic air battles over Nijmegen, three B-17s went down and among others this Bf 109. Among the parts recovered were the Daimler-Benz engine and several rounds of ammunition. The pilot, Unteroffizier Robert Francke of 9/JG54, who was still listed missing, will be buried shortly since his remains were also found. The Werkenummer of the aircraft was 16143. During the 24 hours of June 22 by the way, no less than 72 aircraft went down in Holland: 52 British, 10 USAAF and 10 German fighters.'

In issue 49 we described the action which led to the award of the last Victoria Cross in Europe. One fact I had been unable to establish: who actually put Charlton's name forward. A letter from John Gorman of Killyleagh, County Down provided the answer:

'Immediately after cease-fire the 2nd Btn

I couldn't resist not including this picture of another American general, in this case Major General George Patton when he recently visited St Lawrence's Church in Knutsford, Cheshire, where his father had left this flag before the Third Army moved to Europe (issue 7 refers). The General's daughter, Sister Margaret Georgina, is with him on the left.

Official Royal Netherlands Air Force team excavate the site of Guy Gibson's crash — little was found. (Brabants Nieuwsblad)

Left: **Sorry about the dark print of Hitler's battlewagon in Paris but, inconsiderately, the nearside is parked in deep shadow outside the Sacre-Coeur.** *Right:* **We achieved a little better although the hour is exactly the same — 8.15 a.m.**

Irish Guards was posted to Gummersbach near the Rhine in Germany, and I was Acting Adjutant in the place of Captain Taylor M.C. who was on well-deserved leave. I was aware from Barry Quinan and others of Charlton's believed heroism, but it was all hearsay and supposition, and I decided to put him up for a Mention in Despatches, which he was awarded (A record — the V.C. AND a Mention for the same action?), since the only other posthumous award was the V.C. and at that time the chances of getting the facts verified seemed slim. A letter from the Mayor of Liverpool, quoting eyewitness evidence of a wounded Irish Guardsman he had visited in hospital, not sufficient in itself to be the basis of a V.C. citation, gave me the idea of visiting German POWs to try to find evidence from that source. We succeeded. At least two German officers, one of them von Bulow, made statements, amply justifying a V.C. citation.'

Perhaps the letter which surprised me the most in recent months came from Huldreich Kinzel living in Roetgen — the town which featured in issue 42 as being the spot where the Siegfried Line was first crossed.

'A colleague of mine who is a regular reader of your magazine showed me a copy Nr. 48 with the reports on the different German surrenders in 1945. On the pages 9 to 14 there is a report on the surrender in Lüneburg, Germany. In this report my uncle, General der Infantrie Kinzel is mentioned several times. Please allow me to make a correction and to give you an additional piece of information:

1. My uncle's first name was not Hans but Eberhard.
2. As for my uncle's suicide in June 1945, the Soviet Marshal Schukov (sic) had demanded my uncle's extradition from the Allied Forces. As you can imagine, the treatment the Russians had prepared for my uncle would not have been very nice and he presumed that he would eventually be executed. In this situation my uncle preferred committing suicide.

'As my family hardly has any photos of my uncle taken in 1945 I should be very pleased if you could send me some of those in the above mentioned report.'

I had taken Kinzel's Christian name from an official American publication which I had presumed was correct so once again it is an illustration of how errors can be perpetrated if one fails to cross-check. One would think that I should have learned my lesson by now!

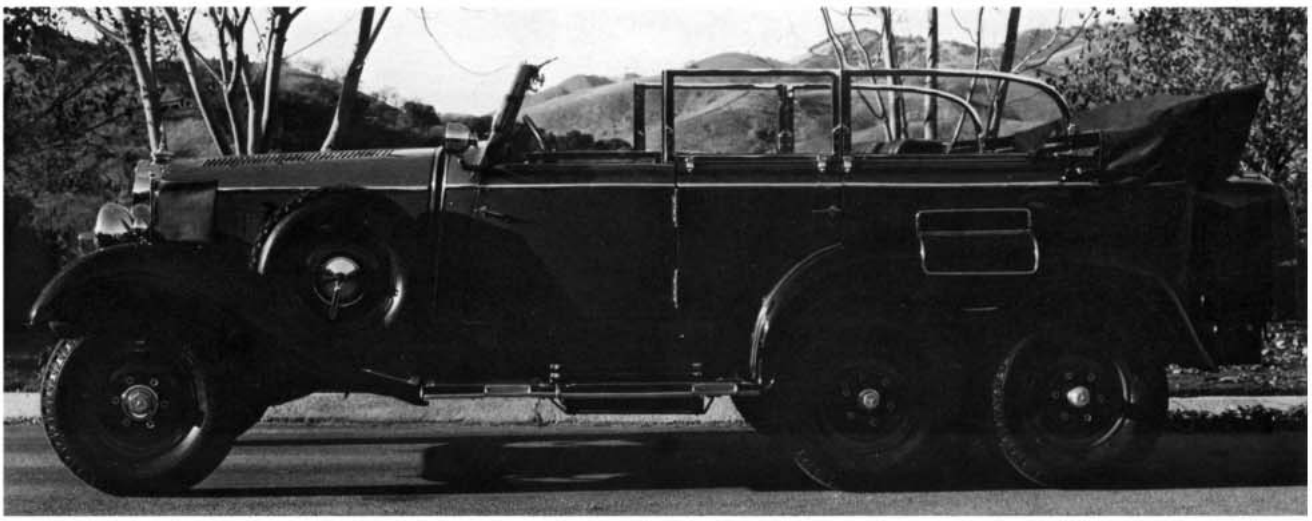
Ludwig Kosche, whose detailed research into the origin of one of 'Göring's' cars (issue 35) led to its positive identification as being one of Hitler's own vehicles, has since written to us about another G4 Mercedes-Benz

'When Hitler visited Paris on June 23, 1940 (see issue 14), he used his motor convoy consisting of five Mercedes-Benz G4. These six-wheelers were designed for cross country travel, and could seat up to seven people. The engine specifications are: straight eight, without compressor, maximum (depending upon the model) piston displacement 5401 ccm, power output 115 hp, and top speed 42 mph. A very few G4s were armoured, and had removable windows with bullet proof glass 30 mm thick.

'The G4 which Hitler used for his trip was the "City of Light" — he used other G4s as well — featured grips on both sides of the wind screen, but a second G4 in his motorcade was also so equipped. Apparently the same G4s can also be seen in photographs taken when Hitler entered Warsaw on October 5, 1939. The available photographic evidence indicates that there were no other G4s with this particular characteristic, and one of these automobiles has survived! The applicable Daimler-Benz order is given as number 340 837, with that for the engine being 440 875, and for the body 200 663. The vehicle was picked up from the factory on August 28, 1939, and the manufacturer recorded the *Besteller* or "orderer" as the "Administration Obersalzberg for the *Führer and Reich Chancellor*, Invoice: Administration Obersalzberg". It is necessary to note that in the same month another three G4s were delivered to Munich, with the "orderer" being the "Administration Obersalzberg, c/o Reichsleiter M. Bormann (order numbers 309 803 to 309 805). In view of these complications it cannot be stated unequivocally that the surviving G4 is the vehicle Hitler himself used in 1939 and 1940, but no doubt arises that it is one of the two G4s with grips on both sides of the wind screen which can be seen in photographs of Hitler's motor convoy.

'This historic vehicle was traded from France to the United States a year ago, and is now part of the Blackhawk Classic Auto Collection in California'.

While talking about cars Alex Randon of St Julians, Malta, was the only reader to write pointing out a slip in issue 53 where, in the Victory Parade article, we described that 'Montgomery led the Army commanders in a Daimler staff car'. He pointed out correctly that the Field-Marshal did in fact use his Humber Snipe open tourer used in his North-West Europe campaign.



Ludwig Kosche speculates that this G4 in the Blackhawk Classic Auto Collection in San Ramon, California could be it.

The Lascaris War Rooms then and now — latest addition to the Second World War scene in Malta.

Issue 10 covered Malta and the opening in May 1975 of the island's war museum. Four years later British forces left, marking the end of 180 years of the British presence. That same year, 1979, Mr R. Lee from the RAF Museum Hendon, visited Malta, following a previous visit by Captain A. J. Pack RN (Retd), Director of the Royal Naval Museum at Portsmouth, both of whom went to advise the Government on the restoration of the War Rooms. Philip Valla writes that 'Although work was taken in hand, little progress was made until August 1985, when Admiral of the Fleet Lord Terence Lewin had consultations with Maltese Prime Minister Dr Carmelo Mifsud Bonnici, as a result of which the restoration project was revived. A "Committee for the Restoration of the Lascaris War Rooms" was nominated to implement the project.

'The Committee's first task was to examine the derelict Operations Rooms beneath the Barracca Gardens in Valletta, as well as those excavated in late 1942 along Lascaris Tunnel. After a feasibility study, it was decided to restore the latter to make the five Operations Rooms easily accessible to the public: Combined Operations, Fighter Control, Filter, Gun Operations and Naval/ Submarine Operations.

'The Fighter Control Room, representing Operation Pedestal on the Plotting Table, has been fully restored. It is intended that each of the other four Rooms will depict a particular highlight in Malta's role during the Second World War. A public address system, giving a running commentary, along with relevant sound effects, will create the right atmosphere for visitors.

'The opening of the Fighter Control Room was meant to coincide with the annniversary of Operation Pedestal. This presented a series of problems because considerable structural alterations, carried out by the British Services after the war and later still by NATO, had changed the original lay-out of the complex. The only authentic material available consisted of some site plans and a set of photographs which, after painstaking examination, enabled Squadron Leader P. E. G. Durnford, Assistant Secretary of the National War Museum Association, to prepare drawings necessary for the reconstruction of the Controller's Dais, Tote Board and Plotting Table Map, as well as those of the adjacent Observer Corps and Radio Direction Finding Rooms.

'The Committee had to reproduce replicas of the original equipment used in these rooms. Peter Durnford and I carried out exhaustive research and obtained first-hand information from several Maltese and British ex-servicemen and civilians who had worked in the Operations Rooms.

'Structural alterations, commenced in May 1986, took just three months to complete. Various boards, plotting equipment and models were put in place on the eve of the opening day.

'The Committee received great help from the Department of Museums, the Task Force and the Armed Forces of Malta, TeleMalta Corporation and from the Royal Air Force Museum Hendon in the provision of equipment and uniforms, most of which are of wartime vintage.

'On August 15, 1986, forty-four years after the arrival of the battered tanker *Ohio*, HMS *Brazen* sailed into Valletta's Grand Harbour to a tumultous welcome by the Maltese. In the evening, Dr Alex Sceberras Trigona, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Culture, and Admiral Sir Nicholas Hunt, Commander-in-Chief Fleet, jointly unveiled a marble tablet in Lascaris Tunnel recording the restoration of the Malta War Rooms, as the complex is commonly known.'

I reported in May 1985 (issue 50) that the old scrapyard at Trun containing the last relics of the Falaise battle was to be sold off. Basically it seems that the owner, Madame Jeanne Maurat, was originally prepared to sell off the scrap at FF5 per kilo prior to the possible auction of the land but I am now told that all has now gone to the French armoured museum at Saumur.

Visitors to the scrapyard were never welcome, access being prevented by barbed wire and guard dogs. As it was a foregone conclusion that one of the last, possibly *the* last, graveyard of WWII AFVs would eventually disappear, I made a special effort some years ago to get inside and photograph what then remained. Perhaps now that all has gone it is fitting to reproduce some of the pictures which have hitherto remained unpublished (see centre pages).

In issue 50 (page 52) I avoided identifying positively the rifle relic recovered by Captain Waller at Fallingbostel. Over the following months several readers told me it was an Italian 6.5mm training rifle, referring me to the small arms 'Bible' by W. H. B. Smith (9th edition page 475). I had already consulted *Small Arms of the World* and was not happy sticking my neck out. Good job I didn't. Even more readers informed me (using the same source (page 615) that it was a Dutch Model 1895 Karabijn! Mr M. D. Brown of Murphysboro, Illinois, even referred me to the well-known picture of Major-General Kussin's staff car shot up at Arnhem where the same weapon is shown resting on the driver's body. While agreeing that it was the carbine version, not the rifle, Clifford W. Knight of Thornhill, Ontario, thought it was the Geweer Tot Kamerschietoefeningen — a 5.5mm practice rifle of similar exterior appearance but with a special 5-round magazine.

A recent telephone call from a reader who wanted to voice his disapproval of the way the recent four-part television dramatisation portrayed certain events in the life of Mussolini leads me to relate my own recent experience as technical advisor for some scenes in a made-for-TV film — in this case the forthcoming follow-up to *The Winds of War*. Again featuring Robert Mitchum as Victor 'Pug' Henry and Victoria Tennant as Pamela Tudsbury, the sequal *War and Remembrance* is based on the book of the same name by Herman Wouk. With a budget approaching $100 million, it is said to be the most expensive film production ever.

I was roped in at a late stage to advise on some scenes to be filmed at Cambridge centred on events preceding D-Day. On reading the script of the relevant scenes, I was perturbed to see that Omar Bradley was to be present at meetings at Southwick House when at the time he was at sea on the cruiser *Augusta* en route to France. I telephoned the producer/director Dan Curtis at his Cambridge hotel and advised him of the error to which his reply was: 'Hell, I have already brought the actor over from the States. He'll have to be in it!' In the end a compromise was reached and he was included in one early meeting but dropped from the 'Let's Go' scene.

The war room at Southwick House had been perfectly re-created in the library of Girton College by Alan Tomkins the Art Director, one of our long-standing readers who worked on *A Bridge Too Far* (issue 17) and *Heroes of Telemark* (issue 45). On the morning of 'the shoot,' I had a discussion with the director to decide where each of the participants should sit around the conference table. Having settled that, by the time filming began, all the chairs had been altered to give better camera angles! I pointed out that the table was much too clean and a call to the props man instantly produced a suitable box of dog-ends and packets of wartime brands of cigarettes.

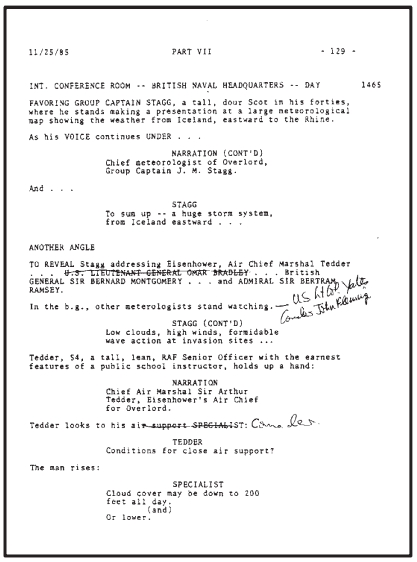
I had already had Eisenhower's [E. G. Marshal] uniform jacket changed to get his medal ribbons nearer the period but earlier scenes had already been shot. I also managed to 'disarm' Indian troops armed with Garands and correct other minor points but the rôle of the technical adviser is not to be envied. I found it difficult to compromise historical facts to suit the film-makers wishes so when Bradley appears when he shouldn't, don't write to me!

I am grateful to Mike Janecek of Mississauga, Ontario, who is publisher and editor of *Kanadske Listy* monthly in Czech and English, for advising me of the fact that Edward Prchal (pilot of Sikorsky's Liberator — see issue 20) died in Calistoga, California, in December 1984. Five months later his wife Dolly flew with his ashes to England to scatter a portion of them over the English Channel. The remainder were buried in an extension of the Czechoslovak plot at Brookwood, specially created by the Free Czechoslovak Air Force Association and Association of Czech Legionnaires Abroad for those Czech's who fought with British forces during the war.

War and Remembrance: **the library of Girton College which doubled as the war room of Southwick House. L-R: The assistant director, Branko Lustig with myself, director Dan Curtis and script supervisor Larry Johnson prepare the conference scenes.**

Incidentally Mike's uncle was Frantisek Janecek the inventor of the 'Lillejohn' armour-piercing shell, the drawings for which were smuggled out of Prague in 1939.

News of another death saddened me as I



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INT. CONFERENCE ROOM -- BRITISH NAVAL HEADQUARTERS -- DAY 1465

FAVORING GROUP CAPTAIN STAGG, a tall, dour Scot in his forties, where he stands making a presentation at a large meteorological map showing the weather from Iceland, eastward to the Rhine.

As his VOICE continues UNDER . . .

NARRATION (CONT'D)
Chief meteorologist of Overlord, Group Captain J. M. Stagg.

And . . .

STAGG
To sum up -- a huge storm system, from Iceland eastward . . .

ANOTHER ANGLE

TO REVEAL Stagg addressing Eisenhower, Air Chief Marshal Tedder . . . ~~U.S. LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OMAR BRADLEY~~ . . . British GENERAL SIR BERNARD MONTGOMERY . . . and ADMIRAL SIR BERTRAM RAMSEY.

In the b.g., other meterologists stand watching.

STAGG (CONT'D)
Low clouds, high winds, formidable wave action at invasion sites . . .

Tedder, 54, a tall, lean, RAF Senior Officer with the earnest features of a public school instructor, holds up a hand:

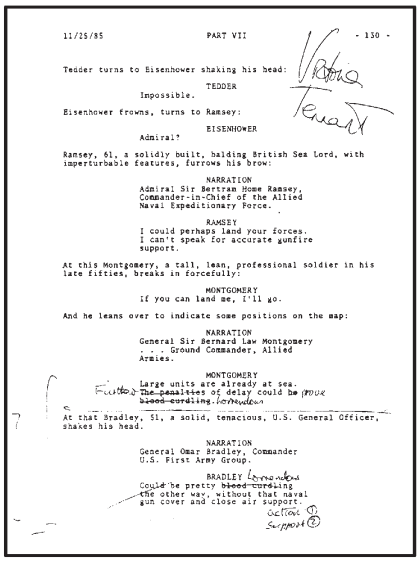
NARRATION
Chief Air Marshal Sir Arthur Tedder, Eisenhower's Air Chief for Overlord.

Tedder looks to his air ~~support SPECIALIST~~:

TEDDER
Conditions for close air support?

The man rises:

SPECIALIST
Cloud cover may be down to 200 feet all day.
(and)
Or lower.



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Tedder turns to Eisenhower shaking his head:

TEDDER
Impossible.

Eisenhower frowns, turns to Ramsey:

EISENHOWER
Admiral?

Ramsey, 61, a solidly built, balding British Sea Lord, with imperturbable features, furrows his brow:

NARRATION
Admiral Sir Bertram Home Ramsey, Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Naval Expeditionary Force.

RAMSEY
I could perhaps land your forces. I can't speak for accurate gunfire support.

At this Montgomery, a tall, lean, professional soldier in his late fifties, breaks in forcefully:

MONTGOMERY
If you can land me, I'll go.

And he leans over to indicate some positions on the map:

NARRATION
General Sir Bernard Law Montgomery . . . Ground Commander, Allied Armies.

MONTGOMERY
Large units are already at sea. ~~The penalties~~ of delay could be ~~blood-curdling~~.

At that Bradley, 51, a solid, tenacious, U.S. General Officer, shakes his head.

NARRATION
General Omar Bradley, Commander U.S. First Army Group.

BRADLEY
~~Could be pretty bleed-curdling~~ the other way, without that naval gun cover and close air support.

The three pre-D-Day conferences are telescoped into two in the film. By rights Omar Bradley should not be at either, but a compromise had to be found as there was no way that Leo Kern playing the General could be dropped. ***Below left:*** **He therefore appears in the June 4 Sunday morning meeting (far right on table) but has been eliminated for the second one although the caption to this scene will probably read June 5, 1944, 4.15 a.m. instead of 'June 4, 9.30 p.m.'! (Never mind, it was worth going to get Victoria Tennant's autograph!)**

Relics from the sea 1. **Back in 1979 (in issue 24) we recounted the recovery of a Buffalo from the River Maas near the Belgium-Dutch border. That same year another Buffalo came to light in the Zuider Zee near Kampen and readers may be interested to learn that it was Les Taylor, author of the piece on Wittmann's last battle in issue 48, who was the driver of a similar Buffalo from the 4th Troop, A Squadron, 1st Northamptonshire Yeomanry, which rescued the crew. Les writes that 'whilst serving in Holland we were ordered to cross the Zuider Zee, as it then was in June 1945, from Zwolle to Urk. During this voyage one craft developed engine trouble resulting in the malfunction of the bilge pump with the result that the vehicle was swamped and sank. We were obliged to take off the crew before it disappeared under the water.' Lost to view for 34 years, it was struck by a dredger and subsequently recovered by the 102nd Engineers, Royal Netherlands Army and can now be seen at the Overloon War Museum (see issue 9).**

had spent a fascinating return trip with him to his particular battlefield: I refer to British Commando Bruce Ogden Smith and our visit to the scenes of his raids in the Channel Islands. Bruce died just before Christmas 1986 of a massive stroke.

An interesting follow-up to issue 55 on U-Boats came from Heinz-Jürgen Meyer-Brenkhof of Westerland, Sylt.

'I thought you might be interested in the photos included, which were taken on February 5, 1986 off the coast of the Frisian island of Amrum in the North Sea. The picture shows the remains of the German U-Boat *U-979* which was scuttled by her crew on May 14, 1945 after the front section had intentionally been blown up by fusing the torpedoes. The crew, under the CO, Käpitanleutnant Meermeier, went ashore in rubber rafts and thus escaped POW fate. *U-979* was a Type VII C and had been commissioned on May 20, 1943. She underwent training with the 5th U-Flotilla until July 1944, then belonged to 9th U-Flotilla and from October 1944 to the 11th U-Flotilla. The Captain did not change and Meermeier commanded the boat for the whole two years. Rumour has it that he had a girl friend on one of the Frisian islands and so went there by U-Boat. What makes the story unique is that *U-979* is under normal tidal circumstances under water for almost the whole year. It was a persistent and strong rare easterly gale that continued to drain the water from this area, and thus allowed the submarine to fully surface and to be clearly seen from a helicopter. Also what is remarkable is the high quality steel on the periscope, which has remained rust-free after 40 years in salt-water. Now the boat has already returned under the North Sea.'

The story on the Man Who Never Was in issue 54 attracted several letters from our readers in the medical profession. Roger Morgan, our author, had spent an inordinate amount of time trying to identify Major Martin and the name we put forward was the best 'candidate' based on the information available. Of the cause of death of our man Harrison, Dr W. David Parsons wrote from St Johns, Newfoundland:

'On the basis of the information presented, there is doubt from the medical point of view that the body of Harrison, a tuberculosis patient, would have been used. I will outline some of my objections:

(1) Tuberculosis is a contagious disease. To use an infective corpse would not be medically acceptable as a number of people would be at risk of infection being in contact and handling the body, which would still be infective even after freezing. However, the exigencies of the service may have overcome this objection.

(2) Amyloid disease is a condition that occurs as a result of chronic cachetic conditions such as chronic tuberculosis of the lung, kidneys, bone or joints; or chronic suppurative disease of the bones (osteomyelitis) or lungs (emphysema). Usually death is caused by the primary disease or by renal failure if the kidneys are affected by the amyloidosis. The person with Amyloid Disease usually suffered from the primary disease for years, and usually to an extensive degree. The person would be cachetic — wasted and emaciated, not just the appearance of poor health.

(3) As Sir Bernard Spilsbury noted, a pneumonia would be difficult to distinguish from sea water drowning on post-mortem examination. But a person with long-standing tuberculosis of the lung would have obvious changes in the lung that could be easily recognized on autopsy, or even by X-ray if an X-ray were taken of the corpse's chest.

'Harrison must have had long-standing tuberculosis to have amyloidosis. The final illness and cause of death was Tuberculous Bronchopneumonia which would give much different X-ray and post-mortem findings than a bacterial pneumonia, that Sir Bernard Spilsbury was referring to. I suspect that Harrison's body would have been wasted and emaciated. I doubt that the team would have risked the success of the operation by using such a body.'

Dr John Jemson of Port Alberni, British Columbia, also highlighted another weakness in the Harrison theory in that his death certificate (reproduced on page 24) states that the cause of death was established 'after post-mortem'. As Dr Jemson wrote: 'Any post-mortem examination conducted in a routine manner leaves extensive scarring, either from chin to pelvis in British practice or a 'Y'-shaped incision from shoulder to shoulder as in North America. Even the most cursory examination of the body would show that.'

Then Billy Bob Crim of Kilgore, Texas, wrote to tell us of an interesting 'stunt' he pulled on the Royal Marines in 1981 when he resurrected Major Martin as explained in the press cutting from *The Daily Telegraph* reproduced here. As a result of its publica-

The Toast That Is

A £20 note arrived in the post the other day at Royal Marines Eastney, Southsea, to "stand the members of the Officers' Mess to a round of drinks . . . in remembrance of me." The letter, dated Nov. 10, came from an Edinburgh hotel and was signed "Major William Martin."

The records show only one Royal Marines officer of that name and he was "The Man Who Never Was."

On April 30, 1945, the body of "Major Martin" was washed up on the coast of Spain, bearing secret plans for proposed Allied landings in Sardinia. They deceived the German High Command and ensured the success of the landings in Sicily.

Glasses will be raised, the identity of the banknote not being in question. A second mystery remains, however, says RM historian, Capt. Derek Oakley. The letter from Scotland bore a 20p stamp: "We are not used to former Royal Marines having so much money!"

Relics from the sea 2. **The U-979 which appeared above the waves near Amrum (one of the Frisian Islands) briefly in February 1986.**

tion and subsequent detective work by HQ Eastney, Billy Bob was identified as the anonymous benefactor, which led to an exchange of correspondence with Ewan Montagu. In one letter Montagu used the term ne'er-do-well that he applied to Martin in his book, but also referred to Martin's relatives as having been 'not much better' and wrote that 'he was Welsh and has no living relative'.

Upon publication of issue 54, *The Sunday Times* took up the search, obtaining copies (at £5 a time) of numerous death certificates of Welshmen around the correct period but with no positive conclusion.

One name in the same issue which I *can* confirm is that of Wilhelm Ross's gunner who features on page 53. He was in fact Gefreiter Alfred Welzel, killed later on August 7, 1941.

Our current major project, as readers will no doubt be aware, is the Blitz on England and during the research for Volume 1, I was saddened to find the graves of the Gills (first civilian casualties in England) and Jane Page and Jim Roberts (first in London) all unmarked. Obviously one cannot just go around placing headstones on other people's graves just because one feels it should be done; permission is necessary from next of kin and we were unable to trace any relatives of Mr and Mrs Gill or Mrs Page. However Jim Roberts's widow, Mary, still lives at Loughton and she was delighted at the suggestion that we arrange for a Service-pattern headstone to be made to mark his grave in Loughton Burial Ground. I was specially pleased as Jim was also the first fireman killed in the London Blitz although the charter for eligibility for a Commonwealth War Graves headstone does not extend to the Auxiliary Fire Service. Nevertheless the Commission very kindly supplied me with a blueprint of their standard headstone which, for civilians, has to have notched corners. This was placed in position in August 1987 just prior to the publication of the book.

While on the subject of memorials, readers of *The Battle of Britain Then and Now* will recall that I was also instrumental in offering to fund a memorial at North Weald to commemorate all those aircrews and airmen who lost their lives in service at or flying from the drome, particularly so as the RAF's first casualty in the defence of the UK during the Second World War was based there when shot down on September 6, 1939 by his own side. (The full story is given in Volume 1 of the *The Blitz Then and Now*.)

The location for the memorial was to be just 100 yards from the spot where nine members of the Essex Regiment were killed by a bomb hitting their air raid shelter on August 24, 1940, and this area was set aside by the late Gordon Bridgeman when he purchased that corner of the airfield for redevelopment. The subsequent owners confirmed the donation of the land for the purpose of the erection of the memorial and permission was sought from the local authority. When this was refused, the local newspaper headlined their report 'We shall remember them . . . but not here'.

'I have been particularly interested in the last issue, No. 57, and more precisely the very fine article you included on the loss of the B24-J *'Wham Bam — Thank You Ma'am* **and the atrocious murder of 2nd Lieutenant Rogers and his crew,' wrote Patrick Carney in September 1987. 'I found it an extremely moving account and it was all the more pertinent to me as, purely by coincidence, I visited the former base of the 854 B.S. at North Pickenham during the summer. As I followed the roads around the perimeter of the airfield, I discovered that this fairly recent housing estate had been built on what was perhaps the original living quarters of the base. Certainly the roads are not new. As I was taking photographs a group of young people passed me — all talking German! It appeared they were on a cultural exchange and were unaware of the significance of the memorial, or the adjacent base.'**

We offered to give a similar aerodrome memorial to be erected in a similar prominent position on the corner of the airfield, 'to the memory of the air and ground crews of RAF North Weald who served this country in two World Wars and to those who failed to return'. In their refusal, Epping Forest District Council gave the following reasons: '1. The proposed statue located on a prominent site of open greensward at the entrance to a residential estate would constitute a visual intrusion in the street scene. 2. The proposed statue sited in front of the main building line along Epping Road would obtrude across the outlook of the residential properties in Wellington Road. 3. The proposal would create a precedent for the siting of other commemorative structures on other sites within North Weald village and it is considered that any such features should be located on the main part of the airfield to which they relate.'

November 1937 — 50 years ago — marks the real turning point in Hitler's decision to go to war. By then he had been in power for 4½ years, during which time Germany had been 'turned round' from the depths of economic depression to rebirth as the 'thousand year Reich'. Huge armament and civil engineering programmes were begun and the armed forces had been expanded beyond the restrictions imposed by the Allies at the end of the First World War with the introduction of conscription in 1935.

In recapturing some of the major events which shaped the years prior to November 1937, Adolf Hitler and the rise of the Nazi party of necessity dominate the pre-war period. Hitler had left his native Austria in May 1913 and settled in Munich where he hoped his work as an artist, and his political ambitions, would achieve the recognition and support that eluded him in Vienna. On August 1, 1914 he was one of a large enthusiastic crowd which had assembled on the Odeonsplatz on the declaration of war. Hitler wrote in *Mein Kampf* that 'I fell down on my knees and thanked Heaven from an overflowing heart for granting me the good fortune of being permitted to live at this time.' A local Press photographer, Heinrich Hoffmann, recorded the event (*above*). Years later when Hoffmann had become a close friend of Hitler, he told him that he had been there with his camera, and after a meticulous search they picked him out. With Hitler inset, it was circulated widely in pre-war Germany.

Hitler served on the Western Front throughout the First War with the 1st Bavarian Infantry Regiment, receiving his baptism of fire in Flanders in the first battle of Ypres. He was wounded on the Somme in 1916. Returning to Munich from 1920 to 1929 he lived here at No. 41 Thierschstrasse; later, when he had achieved the power he so desperately sought, a plaque recorded the fact. Today only the fixing holes survive.

With a foreign policy based on bluff, Hitler's first direct move to re-establish his new Germany, and test the Allied resolve, was the occupation of the Rhineland — the demilitarised 'buffer' zone established west of the Rhine between Germany and France, Belgium and Holland. On March 7, 1936 German troops symbolically marched across the Rhine bridges to the accompaniment of no more than a verbal protest from the rest of the world.

Hitler's confidence reassured, by November 1937 he felt in a position to expound his war plans to his service chiefs and on the afternoon of the 5th five of them gathered in the Reich Chancellery on the Wilhelmstrasse: They were Minister of War Feldmarschall Werner von Blomberg; Foreign Minister Freiherr Konstantin von Neurath; C-in-C of the Army General Freiherr Werner von Fritsch; C-in-C Navy Admiral Dr Erich Raeder and the Luftwaffe commander Hermann Göring. Fortunately for history Hitler's military adjutant Colonel Friedrich Hossbach was present and it is through the notes that he later prepared that the events of the four-hour meeting are known to us.

Hitler began by stating that he regarded the meeting as so important that his remarks must be, in the event of his death, regarded as his last will and testament. 'The aim of German policy was to make secure and preserve the racial community and to enlarge it', continued Hitler. 'It was therefore a question of space.' As there was no space without a master Hitler explained that an 'attacker always comes up against a possessor'. Both Britain and France stood in his way because they were opposed 'to any further strengthening of Germany's position'. Therefore he said, the solution could only be solved by means of force although this course of action was not without risk. He put forward three scenarios:

Fall (Operation) I: Period 1943-45

After this date only a change for the worse, from our point of view, could be expected. The equipment of the Army, Navy and Air Force . . . was nearly completed. Equipment and armament were modern; in further delay there lay the danger of their obsolescence. In particular, the secrecy of

A premature attempt to seize control in Bavaria as a stepping stone to mounting a 'March on Berlin,' emulating Mussolini's successful March on Rome the previous year, drastically misfired, leading to Hitler's arrest and imprisonment. Here Nazi stormtroopers enter Munich's Marienplatz where Julius Streicher is addressing the crowd on the morning of the 'putsch' — November 9, 1923.

Left: **From 1923 to 1945. Little could Hitler have dreamed that one day his beloved Munich would fall to the armies of an invader and that the whole of Germany would lie a battered ruin less than a quarter of a century later.** *Right:* **Another twenty-five years on and the old Rathaus has been painstakingly restored.**

Germany has a new leader. Torchlight procession passes through the Brandenberg Gate and down the Unten den Linden on the evening of January 30, 1933. By the end of the war the triumphal arch, built in 1788-91, had been badly damaged but was restored by the German Democratic Republic in 1957-58 when the four-horse statue 'Quadriga of Victory' was recast from the original moulds.

special weapons' could not be preserved forever . . . Our relative strength would decrease in relation to the rearmament . . . by the rest of the world. . . . Besides, the world was expecting our attack and was increasing its countermeasures from year to year. It was while the rest of the world was increasing its defences that we were obliged to take the offensive.

Nobody knew today what the situation would be in the years 1943-45. One thing only was certain, that we could not wait longer.

If the Führer was still living, it was his unalterable resolve to solve Germany's problem of space at the latest by 1943-45. The necessity for action before 1943-45 would arise in Cases II and III.

Fall II

If internal strife in France should develop into such a domestic crisis as to absorb the French Army completely and render it incapable of use for war against Germany, then the time for action against the Czechs had come.

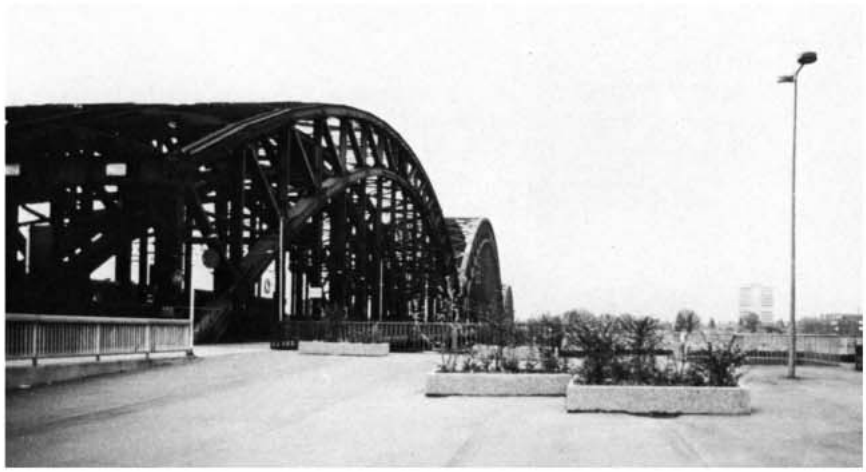
Fall III

If France is so embroiled by a war with another state that she cannot 'proceed' against Germany. . . .

Our first objective . . . must be to overthrow Czechoslovakia and Austria simultaneously in order to remove the threat to our flank in any possible operation against the West. . . . If the Czechs were overthrown and a common German-Hungarian frontier achieved, a neutral attitude on the part of Poland could be the more certainly counted upon in the event of a Franco-German conflict.

Because they felt that Germany was not ready for war, Blomberg, Neurath and Fritsch all spoke out against Hitler, whose answer was to remove all three from office over the following three months. From thereon the die was cast.

Above: **The return to the demilitarised Rhineland, where no German units had been permitted for 17 years, took place on March 7, 1936 when troops marched over the Hohenzollern Bridge spanning the Rhine in Cologne.** *Below:* **Originally the bridge was in fact three bridges — two for rail and one for road traffic. It was completely destroyed by 1945 and when reconstructed the road section was not rebuilt on the upstream side.**



Unfortunately no photographs exist of the most significant event of 50 years ago; the meeting in Berlin on November 5 at which Hitler stated his plans for the future. *Left:* **Shortly before Signor Mussolini had visited Germany from September 25-29, 1937. On the morning of Wednesday the 29th, the Duce was in Berlin laying a wreath at the German War Memorial.** *Right:* **Today this monument has been converted by the GDR into the Memorial to the Victims of Fascism and Militarism.**